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THE COMMUNIST

Vol. X

JANUARY, 1931

No. 1



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Counter-Revolution before the Proletarian Court

(*Leading editorial in PRAVDA*)

THE trial of the counter-revolutionists and saboteurs discloses before the proletarians all over the world the counter-revolutionary work of the agents of French imperialism for the re-establishment of the capitalist system in the U. S. S. R. Ramzin and his band, under the leadership of the former Russian manufacturers, of the *Torgprom*, and the French General Staff, in their mad class hatred of the only proletarian state in the world, did not hesitate at using any means in order to destroy Socialist construction in our country and to establish a land-owner and capitalist yoke over the workers and peasants.

Feeling and realizing the *complete* hopelessness of a counter-revolutionary change through internal forces, these "patriots of the fatherland" have turned into spies for French imperialism with the hope that through intervention they would be able to overthrow the Soviet power.

In his testimony Ramzin confirmed the fact that dominant among the members of the "Industrial" Party was a belief in the "sanctity and superiority of private initiative and in the necessity of a capitalist system as the only basis upon which it is possible to successfully develop the productive forces of the country."

This false concern of the class enemy about the development of the productive forces hides behind it a whole program of capitalist restoration. The productive forces of the Soviet Union, being based on Socialist productive relations, are developing with such a stormy tempo as has never been known before in the history of humanity. It is precisely on the basis of a rapid Socialist growth of productive forces that we have made gigantic progress in the sphere of improving the standard of living of the workers and the toilers of our country.

But the enemies are anxious for a rapid capitalist development of productive forces based upon severe exploitation of the working class and of the poor and middle peasantry. Ramzin wants to return the enterprises to the former owners so that they shall "*after the counter-revolutionary uprising not only receive back their capital value but, possibly, a big increase.*" These wreckers, the lackeys of

French imperialism, who plotted to return the factories, mills, and mines to the capitalists, and the land to the land-owners, were preparing the way for working class impoverishment and hunger, and for the land-owners' capitalist whip. The saboteurs decided upon paying the land-owners for the land and compensating, in the form of money, those manufacturers whose enterprises are not in a working condition or have been completely reconstructed. "The trustification of enterprises," Ramzin pointed out at the trial, "would allow, first, compensation to the former owners for their enterprises, and second (due to the fact that the value of all the Soviet enterprises has considerably increased since they were expropriated), quite substantial reserves, to remain for the needs of the state and also for the compensation of the land-owners."

It is quite clear that the compensation of the land-owners and capitalists in addition to a large growth of capitalist value, meant oppression and enslavement for the poor peasantry, for the proletariat, and the broad masses of toilers. Compensation to the land-owners and capitalists calculated by the class enemies who have been eliminated by the October Revolution meant a return to conditions of Czarist Russia. In the name of returning the land, factories, and mills to themselves, the capitalist plunderers have designed to doom 150,000,000 to misery and starvation, and to turn our country into a colony of world imperialism.

These mercenary bourgeois scoundrels expected to carry out the program for the re-establishment of capitalism by most ruthless exploitation. They try to turn back the wheel of history, to liquidate all the greatest accomplishments of October. The payment of billions to the "insulted" capitalists and land-owners meant the *establishment of a twelve-fourteen hour day, a sharp decrease in wages, and unemployment for millions of workers*, because capitalist accumulation is unavoidably accompanied by the poverty and degradation of the masses.

The class enemy, in order to establish himself at the helm of power, and to squeeze surplus value from the workers of the Soviet Union, adopted the method of active sabotage, and tried to utilize its positions in the Plan and Economy organs to decrease the tempo of Socialist construction, to divert the energy of the masses to less effective building, and to purposely and wilfully prolong the time for construction, in order to undermine the Five-Year Plan of Socialist construction and to worsen the economic conditions in the Soviet Union. The saboteurs have done everything possible in order to disorganize the supply for the proletarian centers and to choke the workers with the bony hand of hunger.

In their criminal work they have had the financial help of the

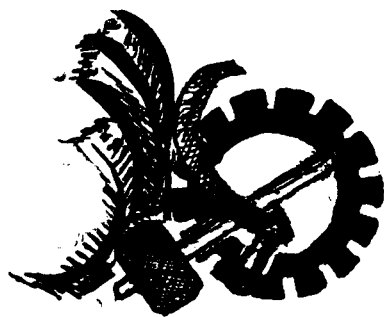
Torgprom and the French General Staff. World imperialism, which is choking itself in the midst of a grave economic crisis that is maturing in a series of countries into a political crisis, is trying to solve its contradictions at the expense of the Soviet Union. It cannot look calmly on at the rapid growth of Socialism in our country. Successful Socialist construction, the rapid growth of collectives, the rapid improvement in the standard of living of the workers in our country, the introduction of the seven-hour day—is dynamite which is blowing up capitalism.

World imperialism operates under the formula “Now or Never,” but the toilers of the Soviet Union are on the look-out. The success of the establishment of collectives, the carrying out of the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class on the basis of complete collectivization, the tremendous building of tractor factories (at the end of the Five-Year Plan the annual production of tractors will be 170,000) and other industrial giants, the electrification of the country, general compulsory education, and the building of strong and devoted proletarian cadres of specialists—mean the *transformation of the U. S. S. R. into an impregnable fortress*. The Soviet Union is already becoming such an impregnable fortress, basing itself on the mighty power of the tens of thousands of workers of our country and on the sympathy and support of millions of workers throughout the world.

At one pole there is a rapid growth of the well-being of the workers, the complete liquidation of the cursed legacy of capitalism—unemployment—, the growth of the number of workers, the *shortest working day in the world*, the raising of the yield of the collectives above that of the individual farm by thirty to forty per cent, the raising of the standard of living of the proletariat and the basic mass of peasantry, and the liquidation of illiteracy of ten million people for the year of 1930; at the other pole—in the camp of capitalism, intensification of labor, a ten- and twelve-hour day, perpetual unemployment, over twenty-five million unemployed, not counting those who work part time, drastic fall in real wages (in the United States, eighteen per cent; England, in the coal industry, nineteen per cent; in Germany, twelve per cent), a general growth of the revolutionary movement, and uprisings in the colonies—capitalism has something to think about.

The aggressiveness of world imperialism, its mad preparations for war against the Soviet Union, is an attempt to turn back the wheel of history, an *attempt to drown in a sea of blood the World October*. Against the mobilization of the counter-revolutionary forces, against the actual sabotage and the attempts of intervention, the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the capitalist coun-

tries will answer with a counter-mobilization of their forces. The working class and toiling masses of our country are now as never before united around the Leninist Party, ready to defend October. The brother Parties that are at the front posts of defense of the first proletarian state are mobilizing their forces against intervention, for the turning of the new imperialist war, the war against the Soviets, into civil war. The time is coming of which Marx wrote: "The hour has struck for the destruction of capitalist private ownership; the expropriators are being expropriated." The world counter-revolution and its first gendarme—French imperialism and its vassals (Poland, Roumania, etc.) are coming before the court of the international working class.



“Fewer High-Falutin’ Phrases, More Simple Every-Day Deeds” —Lenin

*Report of the Political Committee to the Twelfth Central
Committee Plenum, CPUSA, November 22, 1930*

By EARL BROWDER

COMRADES:

The work of this Plenum is a continuation of the line of the Comintern laid down at the Sixth World Congress, the line that was further developed in the Tenth Plenum of the ECCI, which was established as the line of the American Party in the Seventh Convention last June.

We have no reason to modify this line in any way. Everything that has happened during this period has confirmed the correctness of this line. There is no one here to speak against this line. There is no one in the Party who retains any doubts about the correctness of our line. The resolutions of our Seventh Convention have further been approved by the CI since that time. Our problem at this Plenum is to go forward from this basis to actually put it into effect in life. If we have to critically evaluate the work of the Seventh Convention, it is that the Seventh Convention did not sufficiently concretize our line; it did not sufficiently present it sharply in terms of every-day work. That is the task of this Plenum.

We begin this Plenum with a great deal of preliminary work already done. Since the Seventh Convention of our Party we have the results of the American Commission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. All members of the Central Committee and district leaders had an opportunity to read the resolution of the ECCI on the American question and on the Negro question, as well as the speeches of Comrades Kuusinen and Manuilsky. We have also prepared a special report on the economic crisis which is in your hands in written form, the most complete report made so far by us. All this work, all these documents, should be taken as a basis—the starting point for the work of this Plenum.

With this foundation for our work, what is the link which we must seize upon now? What is the central point which will lead us to the solution of our particular problems? It is necessary for us to establish the point of emphasis for this Plenum, grasping that

link, as Comrade Lenin used to say, the particular link in the chain to which we can cling, in order to keep the whole chain and subsequently pass on to the next link.

I think that the key can be found in a quotation from Comrade Lenin. At the time after the October Revolution when the CP of the Soviet Union was faced with the necessity of turning the entire Party towards practical work, towards getting down to grips with the very serious consideration of reality, Comrade Lenin at that time said:

"What we need is fewer high-falutin' phrases, more simple every-day deeds, less chatter and more attention to living facts of Communist construction."

While we are not yet facing the task of building Socialism in this country, this quotation from Lenin applies with force to the work of our Plenum. We will not solve our problems by paper resolutions or fancy oratory, we will not solve our problems by decrees of this Plenum. Our work here must be in the nature of a guide to action for the comrades in the field. Comrade Lenin said that that man who is still a member of the Party (because he has not been expelled from the Party), who thinks he can succeed in his work by drawing up resolutions, is suffering from Communist vanity. This Plenum must eliminate Communist vanity from our movement—Communist vanity which thinks a problem has been solved by drawing up a resolution. Our task is not to draw up a resolution to show how much we know about high politics. Our task is to get down to work in order that we may be able to realize the tremendous opportunities that are before the Party now. These opportunities created for us by the world crisis of capitalism, by the concrete development of this crisis in the U. S. where it is the sharpest, we have only begun to realize upon. The latest ECCI resolution on the American question said that the principal weakness of our Party is to be found in the fact that the Party was and remains a good propagandist organization, but it has not understood how to mobilize the masses for the struggle for their immediate demands and especially for their economic demands. Is this a correct characterization of the principal weakness of our Party? Is this the next link that we must seize upon in getting away from high-falutin' phrases, getting down to practical business? I think it is. I think the entire Plenum will agree that it is correct.

Our Party has demonstrated a very good general understanding of the line. Our Party has been activized in a general way in the struggle for this line, but it has remained in the field chiefly of agitation and propaganda. It has not understood how to mobilize the

masses for struggle for their immediate demands and especially for their economic demands.

What is the importance of concretizing our general line in terms of every-day needs? There are some comrades who think that because the general course of revolutionary development is so fast, because revolutionary crises are developing so swiftly in many countries, because even in the United States, elements of the political crises begin to appear and mature, that therefore, immediate demands, concrete demands of the daily life of the workers, acquire less and less importance, and the broad, general, sweeping slogans become predominant and take the place of everything else. This conception is absolutely wrong—that with the sharpening of the class struggle, with the maturing of political questions, the immediate, small economic demands and needs of the daily life of the workers recede to the background. No one would defend such a position openly, but its influence is manifest especially in the lower units of the Party.

LEADING THE MASSES IN STRUGGLE

The Party must set itself, therefore, to convince the entire Party of the revolutionary role played by the smallest economic demands of the workers and the struggle for them. I want to call your attention in this respect to a quotation from Lenin's article that he wrote just before the October Revolution, at a time when on the order of the day was the organization of the armed uprising—the struggle for the seizure of power. What kind of slogans did Lenin put forward at that moment? Did he talk only of high politics—only of seizure of power? No, he talked about the reasons for the seizure of government—in terms of milk for the children. It is worth while for us to read a rather lengthy quotation from the article of Lenin's, *Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?* written in the early days of October, 1917:

“When the last common workman, every unemployed man, every cook, every ruined peasant sees, not from paper, but with his own eyes, that the proletarian authority is not cringing before the rich, but is helping poverty, that this power is not afraid of revolutionary measures, that it takes surplus products from the parasites and gives them to the hungry, that it forcibly moves the homeless into the dwellings of the rich, that it forces the rich to pay for milk, but does not give them a drop of it until the children of *all* the poor families have received adequate supplies, that the land is passing into the hands of those who labor on it, that the factories and banks come under the control of the workers, that serious and immediate punishment is meted out to millionaires who conceal their riches—when the poverty-stricken see and feel this, then no force

of the capitalists and kulaks, no forces supported by the hundreds of milliards of international financial capital, will be able to conquer the people's revolution. On the contrary, it will conquer the world, for in all countries the Socialist transformation is ripening; our revolution is unconquerable if it is not afraid of itself, if it entrusts full authority to the proletariat."

There is great significance, comrades, in this placing of the slogan of "milk for the workers' children" side by side with the slogan of seizure of power, the slogans of the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. This is the perfect and complete combination of all phases of the struggle, from the smallest, most intimate daily needs of workers, to preparation for seizure of government power—all in one sentence. This is the hooking up of the daily life of workers in its most intimate detail with our general political line, which we must also have in the United States. We are not yet facing the struggle for power in the United States. We are facing the struggle for the leadership of the masses. We are entering into the struggle for the possession of masses for the first time, but this lesson holds with full force, no matter what the stage of revolutionary development.

It is precisely at this point that our Party is weakest. The Party must learn in practice how to transform our correct general slogans into concrete immediate demands of the masses in their daily lives. We must completely liquidate this seeming contradiction between immediate demands and our revolutionary aims and perspectives. Such a contradiction is completely false—it is an expression of remnants of right-wing opportunism, as well as leftist sectarianism. Precisely because we are the Party of the proletarian dictatorship, we must become the foremost leader of smallest struggles for the smallest needs of the workers. Of course, this struggle for immediate demands must at all times be guided in every detail by revolutionary aims and perspectives. We do not raise immediate demands and immediate struggles in opposition to revolutionary perspective. We must conduct a most bitter and relentless struggle against such opportunist tendencies, but we cannot avoid the swamp of opportunism by being afraid of immediate economic demands. That would mean inevitably that we would wander into the deserts of sectarianism, which is just as fatal to our revolutionary movement.

HOW SHALL WE BUILD THE RED UNIONS?

Our point of emphasis must be the mobilization of workers for small demands, organization of that struggle under the leadership of our Party. The weakest point of our work in this respect lies in the trade union field. In our trade union work, we have a very

serious condition, one that is positively alarming. We are in a most favorable situation for the revolutionary movement, for the revolutionary advance. We have some advances in spite of all our weaknesses, but in our trade union work, we must acknowledge that we are witnessing a retrogression instead of advances. There are advances here and there, but on the whole, after we draw a balance of our trade union work, we find it is slipping back. The central weaknesses of our whole Party are more pronounced in our trade union work and most damaging there. Therefore, it is necessary for this Plenum to take as its central point of concentration, our work in the trade union field—in building the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary oppositions in the reactionary unions. This is our main field of work, where we must resolutely set ourselves to overcome these weaknesses.

If we try to analyze the weaknesses in the trade union work, we find that it all comes back to the same central point, that is, the general weakness of the whole Party. What are the expressions of this weakness in trade union work—why do the unions fail to advance? We find much neglect of the immediate demands, concentration on large broad sweeping slogans, which express general class interests, but we do not express concrete immediate interests of a particular group of workers. We find bad preparation and leadership of strike struggles, which is just another form of neglect of immediate demands. We find very weak connections between the union apparatus and the masses, which is another form of the same thing. We find an absolute insufficiency of trade union democracy, of collaboration in the unions of all the members in the unions. Trade union democracy, which must be the expression of the connection of our Party with the masses, is terribly undeveloped in all our unions. This is an expression of the same central weakness.

Strong remnants of bureaucratic methods taken over from the past and a corresponding weakness of trade union democracy have been the result of lack of a close connection between the masses and the Party. Only in joint work and joint solutions, together with non-Party masses, will we be able to find a practical solution of our problems.

There is also a tendency in the revolutionary unions to depend upon paid functionaries to carry on the work. A lack of unpaid organizers in the unions is apparent. Some of our smallest organizations actually build their paid staff on a larger scale than a big mass organization should have.

Resulting from this lack of a close bond between us and the

masses, there is a lack of organized, planned work. And therefore another result follows: there is no crystallization of the real leading committees in these unions. Our committees tend to melt away and reduce themselves to one person instead of a strong collective body which works as a unit and gives force, energy and push to the organization.

All of these weaknesses of our unions arise directly out of a bad approach to the mass work, a neglect of the aims, needs and wants of the masses. All of these consequences have come from Communist vanity and our neglect of the daily needs of the working masses, from the neglect of our Party to organize and struggle for them.

We have passed excellent resolutions. At the same time we must see that, in spite of all good resolutions, they have not been applied. Everybody adopts these resolutions and everybody neglects them. In making these criticisms I speak of our entire body from the leading functionaries down to the units. The entire Party shares in these mistakes.

LEARN HOW TO LEAD STRIKES

We have had considerable experience in strike struggles and the attempts to develop strike struggles in the past year. We have drawn many lessons from these. So far as the Central Committee is concerned, the Convention affirmed and our resolutions broadcast these lessons. But we still do not fully understand these resolutions and face a constant repetition of the same mistakes. We must take more seriously the learning of the lessons of our experiences for the entire Party. We also have a great many directives drawn from the experience of the entire international movement. Such concrete, detailed directives of how to organize and conduct strike struggles are contained in the resolution of the Strassburg Conference in January, 1929, almost two years ago. This resolution was published at the time in *Labor Unity*. But I don't think there are fifty people in America who studied this resolution thoroughly. Those who did read it did not understand it, and paid little attention to it, continued right ahead with the old way of doing our work and went on the same as before this resolution.

Well, the Central Committee is also to blame for some of this. The Central Committee did not thoroughly put into effect this line. It took the Central Committee more than a year to get this resolution into pamphlet form so that there could be no excuse for anyone not to have it. Still, we find much carelessness towards this pamphlet on strike strategy, although our entire trade union work must be based upon it. The Illinois miners' strike we thoroughly

analyzed at our Party Convention, but in the past weeks we have had the opportunity of seeing many of the most glaring examples of these mistakes made again in the work on the Philadelphia waterfront, the same mistakes that were made in Illinois, some of them in worse form. We saw that these mistakes were made in the Flint strike. Throughout the Party, in every phase of the trade union work, we find an absence of any deep understanding of strike strategy, and proper methods of approach to the economic demands, and the building of the trade unions in struggle. This Plenum must take up the organization and application of these lessons on strike strategy and, as well, concretize them in terms of our own experience.

GRIEVANCE COMMITTEES AND SHOP COMMITTEES

We must also look for new forms to connect ourselves up with the unorganized workers, natural forms, not invented by us in our own minds, but forms that grow out of the life of the workers. We are too mechanical in our approach to the masses. We issue the slogan: "Shop Committees," and think that will settle the problem of penetration of the shops. For two years we have been shouting "Shop Committees!" but how many shop committees have we? Very few, indeed!

What is the trouble? Is it a fact that the workers are not ready to organize, that the workers do not want to organize? I don't think anyone will maintain that. There are, of course, many obstacles to overcome in our work in the shops. There is the stool-pigeon system, more and more developed to weed out the agitators, the organizers. We must work out more definite methods to evade the stool-pigeons and be able to carry on our work without being thrown out of the shops. There are obstacles in the methods of production in the most highly rationalized shops, where contact with the workers becomes more and more difficult, in some cases impossible, while the belt is running, and so on.

There are all sorts of difficulties. But will anybody maintain that these difficulties are an explanation of why we do not make progress? Of course not. Difficulties exist only to be overcome. The reason why we must have a Communist Party, the reason why the overthrow of capitalism is a long bitter struggle led by the Communist Party, is because there are difficulties to overcome. And our business is not to find difficulties as explanations for not achieving something, but rather to explain *why we have not overcome these difficulties*. The explanation is not in the unwillingness, the un readiness of the workers to organize, but in our mechanical approach to the question, in our failure to study the details of every shop and

every department, to find the solution, the forms of work, that will succeed in overcoming these difficulties.

There can, of course, be no single formula given that will answer all these questions. This Plenum cannot write a resolution that will solve every question in every shop. But we can turn the minds of every Party comrade and of every Party sympathizer to the task of setting themselves to examine every shop, every department, and studying it from the point of view of how we can crystallize a group of workers in this shop which will serve as an organizing center, as a nucleus of struggle for the needs of the workers, as the expression of the needs of all the workers in this shop and as the beginnings of the organization of all this work.

One reason why we have not succeeded more is because our approach to the shops has been practically that of organizing them only for the final revolutionary battle. Our Party concentration on shops, I think, in nine cases out of ten, has been merely to ask these workers to join the Communist Party. Why should they join the Party? They do not understand Communist theory, and we have not shown them the connection between our theory and the shop problems. We must approach the workers in the shops to organize them on the basis of their own needs and problems, and stimulate them as the organizing agents themselves, and hook them up with our trade unions and out of this movement as it grows, we crystallize the best elements into the Party. We must find the best forms and methods of organizing these workers in the shops. The ECCI resolution has pointed out that we have elementary forms of organization that are natural in this country, that have traditions, that have sprung up in all industries—*grievance committees* which, as is well known to the workers in the United States, present themselves in the most varied forms, including highly organized trade unions, as in the old days on the railroads; in the form of grievance committees, pit committees, which are broader than the union, as in the mining industry; in the form of grievance committees which have led entirely unorganized workers in strikes—most of the spontaneous strikes in this country have sprung up around such small grievance committees in the shops.

The workers generally understand that when you speak of the grievance committee, you mean the beginning of organization of the workers around some demand, around some grievance against the boss. Why can't we seize on this idea and develop it systematically, according to plan, with our work which is carried on from week to week and which is not sporadic, which is not unorganized? We will certainly find some such approach as this, coming to the

workers in the shops, that will enliven the whole mass contact of our trade union work. With such an approach we begin to have a base from which to develop the concrete demands of the workers, develop their struggles for these demands, and by developing these demands and struggles, broaden out the basis of our unions. The unions can be organized only by developing the consciousness of the workers that they must fight, that the trade unions are not something outside themselves but are built in the process of the workers organizing themselves in the shops. The trade union is the concentration of all these shop organizations and the multiplying of their strength for struggle by joint action for a joint program.

I have talked a great deal about the trade unions. This is absolutely necessary because the whole general work of the Party depends upon this problem, depends upon solving it. What I have said is no more than an introduction to the question. With Comrade Foster's report, we must concentrate several sessions of our Plenum upon the detailed examination of this question.

FIGHT FOR RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

Closely connected with the trade union work is the unemployed movement. We must say that in spite of all the good points of our work on the unemployed question (and they are many), there is grave danger of the comrades feeling too much satisfied with it. And the outstanding feature of our unemployment work is the weakness, the slowness, with which we have developed it, the lack of organizational crystallization we have given it, the lack of concretizing it in terms of local issues, local struggles and local demands. Of course there has been some progress in this respect, but only here and there—no decisive general progress in the concretization of the unemployed struggle. And even the broad general aspects of the unemployment movement, we have been very slow in developing, such as the struggle for the Unemployment Insurance Bill. We are very slow in the first place in crystallizing the movement for the Bill, and since it has been launched, very, very slow in rousing a mass movement around this Bill. We still have not the realization that the movement for this Bill will be little more than a parliamentary gesture, an agitational movement, unless in the signature collections, in the demonstrations for the Bill, we proceed to organize the workers in each neighborhood, in each house, in each district, for immediate struggle for immediate demands.

Our fight for the Unemployment Insurance Bill has too much taken the form of one speech a comrade made—he was a very good comrade, a very earnest comrade—but this is what he said:

"You must vote Communist; a vote for the Communist Party is a vote for the Unemployment Insurance Bill." "Of course," he said, "you will never get this unemployment insurance until you will overthrow capitalism and establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government."

What kind of approach is this? What reaction do the masses have to such an approach? Although this speech was an extreme example, it expresses the whole general character of our fight for the Unemployment Insurance Bill. What reaction does the worker get from this? "Yes," he says, "I am for the Unemployment Insurance Bill, therefore, I am for revolution; but the revolution is not here now so I had better go down to the soup line and get myself a bowl of soup." It leaves the worker a prey to every capitalist and social-fascist demagogue who talks about getting something now. This is not an organized form of struggle for the Unemployment Insurance Bill; it is rather a movement away from the workers so far as their immediate life is concerned; it is another form of "pie in the sky,"—giving unemployment insurance after the revolution. This is the sort of thing which paralyzes our struggle for relief from hunger and starvation, upon which at this moment we must base ourselves. Our struggle must take the form of concrete organization and fights for concrete immediate relief and we will have no success unless we can impress this upon our entire Party.

Consider the eviction cases! The struggle against evictions is one of the most immediate fights for immediate relief, including fights for free gas, free water, and free electricity in the homes of the unemployed where they are being cut off from all of these necessities of life because they are unable to pay their bills. These are issues of immediate struggle and it is possible for us to mobilize large masses upon them. On the issue of preventing the cutting off of water you can mobilize all of the neighbors of the unemployed victims.

In spite of the weak development of our struggle against evictions—and it has been very weak—this struggle has been the most living part of our work. We have given insufficient attention to it. The only place that I know where it has been really systematically approached was in Detroit. In spite of this weakness it has been the one live thing in our unemployment movement that has drawn new masses directly in contact with us and under our leadership. We have attained this through our eviction struggles, and where our unemployment movement has developed, it has been where these struggles have developed. From this we must go further, we must have hunger marches to the state capitals, delegations to Congress in Washington to present the demands for unemployment insurance,

etc., simultaneously with mass street demonstrations, all with a foundation of local and neighborhood demands. Thus we can forge a powerful political weapon, and not content ourselves with mere agitational demonstrations.

WINNING THE NEGRO MASSES

Now our work on the Negro question. Here is another field where we have only begun to concentrate our work in terms of daily needs and daily struggles. Our general program has already begun to give the Party a wide ideological influence among the Negroes in spite of our extreme weakness in practical work. We must say that many districts completely ignored the work among the Negro masses, or gave it only formal attention. At the recent very successful convention in St. Louis, the American Negro Labor Congress has transformed itself into the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Here we have an enormous field for mass work and organization. The St. Louis convention was a success in spite of the weaknesses in the districts, and the very bad organizational work in the center, weaknesses, which under ordinary conditions would have condemned the conference to death.

What does this prove? That with systematic work in this field we can have a tremendous influence over the Negro masses and rally them around the Communist Party, we can have the beginnings of real solidarity between white and black workers, in life, in action in this country. We have taken steps which will have tremendous political results in the breaking down of the old separation between white and black workers, we have shown the Negro masses the meaning of our main political slogans, and especially the slogan of self-determination which has received an instantaneous response from the Negro masses. They understand our slogans now as something that touches their daily life and that are quite different from the slogans of any other political party in the United States.

We must carry forward this advance, concretize it and give it roots in practical organization of struggles of the white and Negro workers together.

MOBILIZE THE IMPOVERISHED FARMERS

Another field of our mass work which has been almost completely neglected in the past is the work among the farmers. Our 7th Convention for the first time gave serious political attention to this question. We discussed our draft program and our analysis of the tendencies of development in agriculture; we overcame the confusions that arose. We have settled in the ECCI the various theoretical differences between us and some of the leading comrades

of the Peasant International—(Krestintern), in which we proved to be correct.

The line of our draft program of the convention has been endorsed. With the general line of policy settled, the task is to concretize it in actual work among the farmers. The situation is very favorable among the farmers for us to extend our influence. We have many reports from districts that show these favorable conditions. We can mention the election results in North and South Dakota—these are almost entirely agrarian states—where our Party received more than 7,000 votes—a six-fold increase over two years ago. This is a greater increase than we had in the industrial districts like New York.

What does this mean? It means that the conditions among the farmers are ripe for us. We have many examples of this. I believe the comrades in Detroit can report to us the experiences of sending out comrades in a car during the election campaign to the agrarian districts and the warm response the farmers gave them—farmers who knew nothing about the Communist Party except that it was against the Republican and Democratic Parties.

There are only one or two districts which systematically set themselves to establishing such contacts for the Party. Comrades, we must establish that one of the duties of every district is to develop systematic agrarian work. This must first of all take the form of establishing connections for the agricultural workers' union, establishing functioning branches of the union among the wage workers on the land, and connections among the farmers for our farmers' paper. The poor farmers and sections of the middle farmers also are ripe for this work. The farmers' paper must be the organizer and leader of our work among the farmers. Therefore the Party and all of its agrarian contacts must systematically build up the circulation of this paper, around this circulation groups of farmers, and committees of action. We will find that there are tremendous possibilities in the deep agrarian discontent. The very sharp agrarian crisis is bearing down upon the farmers equally as hard as the industrial crisis is bearing down upon the working class. The Central Committee must establish an Agrarian Department in the center, in order to lead this work, a Department which can probably also combine the work in the cooperative field which is closely related in many respects to the agrarian work, and which will give daily systematic guidance to the work of the entire Party in this field.

FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

Another special field of the development of our mass contacts, of our mass work, mass organization, is the field of the foreign

born workers who are subjected to special persecutions as a part of the general capitalist offensive against the working class. We have made some beginnings in this direction. These beginnings in the setting up of councils for the protection of the foreign born have been very promising. They serve as another example to the Party of how necessary it is, if we want to organize support behind the Party, to organize the struggle of the masses, to find their immediate burning concrete needs. Hundreds of thousands of the foreign born workers in the United States today feel the menace of the projected legislation for finger printing of the foreign born, the menace of deportation laws, the menace in the cities of special dismissals of foreign born workers in order to make jobs for natives; they feel the menace of the setting of the Negroes against the foreign born. In this field of struggle against the discriminations against the foreign born, we have one of the important channels of mass activity in the country today. Our efforts along this line have received response from the masses, but not such good response from the Party organizations.

Comrades, it is a sad fact that the leading cadres of our Party are not as much alive to these issues as the masses are sometimes. They tend to neglect them, and refer the whole question to a single individual while the Party Committee does not think it important enough to merit serious detailed systematic attention. This is so serious that in some sections we have witnessed these local movements get into the hands of our enemies simply because the Party was not on the job. This is a very dangerous situation, such neglect of most vital mass movements and mass organizations, and even when this neglect doesn't express itself in such dangerous forms, it expresses itself in lack of leadership, in lack of detailed working out of the problems of these mass organizations and the leaving of the organization to go on as best it can. It is not enough to have the correct lines laid down by the center. They must be concretely applied under detailed control and checked up by the Party in each district and locality, by every unit of the Party.

MASS WORK FOR THE YOUTH

Another of our main weaknesses is in the Youth work. The Young Communist League has made some progress since the Party convention; it has turned more definitely and decisively to mass work, towards the building up of the mass activity of the organization, towards curing that old ingrowing disease of the Youth organization. This progress has been hampered to a great extent by the

slowness of some of the leading youth comrades in understanding the line and putting it into practice. In some cases this slowness has been so pronounced that the result is practically sabotage in the carrying through of the Youth program of action, resistance to the line, not merely failure to carry it through. Where the line has been applied energetically and systematically, there is a distinct improvement. The League has a more healthy inner life, developing mass activity, but we must say that the Youth League must consciously complete the process of overcoming the old remnants of the past, overcoming this resistance and doubt of the line, overcoming the tendency to go off on side tracks.

There is still a tendency to interminable discussions of high politics, and with it, a suspicion that our insistence upon immediate demands, upon detailed work, represents some deep-going opportunistic tendency in the Political Bureau of the Party. This disease, which is also characterized by a subjective, group, factional and personal approach to the problems of the Youth League, must be overcome. The remnants that still remain must be wiped out, and the whole Youth organization actually drawn into constructive work, mass work among the young workers, to building up Youth sections of the Trade Union Unity League, building up a mass membership in the Youth League itself, and building a broad workers' sports movement. The Plenum will have to be directly of assistance to the Youth League in this question. The Party must more decisively express its leadership in this field. We have been overcoming step by step the weakness of the Party's leadership of the Youth work, which was very weak a year ago, and which must be greatly strengthened. I think the Party must more decisively and more steadily, every day and every week, guide the work of the Youth League.

We must also propose to the Youth Plenum which will be held in a few days, the measures that are necessary for them to complete their turn to mass work. Among these measures I think that we must have some changes in the Youth leadership. I think that we must point out the worst expression of hanging back in the leadership, of resistance to the line, as expressed by Comrade Steuben. Comrade Steuben is a candidate to the Central Committee of the Party, placed there as one of the leaders of the Youth work. The Polburo in an examination of the work of the League has had to take note of the fact that the weakest point in the leadership of the Youth work was expressed by Comrade Steuben, who has a very unhealthy tendency in his work. In the meeting last night our judgment in this respect was further confirmed by the speech

that he made to the Polburo, which convinced us that it was necessary to propose to the Plenum that Comrade Steuben be removed from the leadership of the YCL and that he be sent to work in a factory for a year or so to get rid of these unhealthy tendencies which have hampered the work of the Youth movement.

SPECIAL WORK AMONG WOMEN

Our Party in another field of work has neglected its practical tasks to a great extent, that is, the field of work among women. There is still a feeling throughout the Party that work among women, special work to draw women into the movement, into the trade unions, into the Party, into our auxiliary organizations, to find the especial interests of the women workers and upon the basis of these special interests to draw them into the general movement of the working class—there is a general feeling throughout the Party that it is not important, that this is department work, this is something that is referred to comrades who cannot do anything else. Such an idea has expressed itself in many of our Plenums, district committee meetings, etc., where comrades will report, “Well, we had Women’s Work on the agenda, but it was down at the bottom and we did not get to it. There was so much to be taken up that we thought, oh well, it was not important after all, so we referred it to a sub-committee.”

Comrades, what would happen to our Party if we would always refer trade union work to a sub-committee, if we would refer Negro work to a sub-committee, or Youth work to a sub-committee? It would demonstrate that we are not a serious political organization out to win the masses. Women are one of the largest groups of workers in this country. They have special oppressions, they have special grievances, special interests of their own, and if it is important for us to especially develop and emphasize the interests of the foreign born, the interests of the Negro masses, the interests of the young workers, why is it less important that we do the same thing with women? Is it because women are not good material for our movement? Anyone who has had experience will know that women are the best fighters when you once get them lined up in any kind of work connected with the labor movement. The whole history of the Miners’ Union is a history in which women took a very important part from top to bottom. Some of the best fighters have been women, and in the case of miners’ strikes, women have taken important parts on the picket line, in every phase of the struggle, even handling guns when necessary.

It is necessary to point out that the neglect of the work among

women by our Party districts is a criminal neglect and we are not seriously taking up our duties to one of the major parts of the working class, as long as we continue this neglect of work among women. The comrades who are more directly connected with this work will deal more intimately with certain results of this neglect. We have made a certain advance in this work. We have a regularly appearing paper, but the circulation is entirely inadequate, and many of the districts pay no attention to it whatever.

DAILY WORKER—OUR CHIEF WEAPON

This lack of attention of the districts to the mass circulation of our papers is a general neglect. Very few of the districts have set themselves seriously to the problem of getting a mass circulation for our different papers. This is one of the most important fields of our work. We cannot lead and organize the hundreds of thousands of workers for struggle merely by word of mouth.

The principal instrument of the Party in mass agitation and organization is our press, especially our *Daily Worker*. In spite of the almost complete absence of systematic attention to the circulation of the *Daily Worker* in the districts, in the cities, in the sections (I say almost complete absence—there are a few exceptions), our *Daily Worker* is one of the strongest features of our work. But it reflects every weakness of the Party. There are many shortcomings to the *Daily Worker*. But I am afraid that there are many comrades in the Party who set themselves to overcoming these weaknesses in the wrong way. In fact, I think they do not set themselves to overcome these weaknesses, that they use these weaknesses as an excuse to cover their own. I hope we will have much criticism, self-criticism and mutual criticism, of the *Daily Worker* in this Plenum, but I hope we will eliminate that type of criticism where comrades from districts come in and say: “The *Daily Worker* is no damn good; I sent in ten articles, each of ten pages, and not one of them appeared.”

It is true that a great deal of material sent in from districts is not published in the *Daily Worker*—quite true. But this is one of the strong points of the *Daily Worker*, and not its weak point, that it has been refusing to print all these long high-falutin’ articles from districts, and has been insisting that the districts send in news from the class struggle. The hardest job of the *Daily Worker* is getting good news from the districts. Here it would seem that the instinct of the comrade in the field in carrying on the work would be, “Let’s get five or six lines of this in the *Daily Worker* just as quick as possible,” but in fact, that is the last thing they

seem to think of. When comrades do send in material, they collect a mass of clippings from the local newspapers, and attach a note telling the comrades, "Please write this up." They send in only raw material to the *Daily Worker* staff, where we have five or six comrades almost starving to death, because the printing of the paper takes all the funds and leaves nothing for the wages of the staff. These five or six comrades have to spend hours on every little story because the comrades in the districts do not understand that it is their duty to report the local struggles. Often we cannot even persuade the local comrades to send in newspaper clippings.

I have before me an example of the kind of criticism of the *Daily Worker* that doesn't help solve our problems. I have a letter from Comrade Gardos in which he condemns the "scandalous neglect" of the *Daily Worker* on the situation of the strike in Reading. The fact is that the *Daily Worker* has printed three stories about the Reading strike and these three stories are everything that has been received by the *Daily Worker* about it. Comrades in the districts, instead of sending in material to the *Daily Worker*, write letters to the *Daily Worker* condemning it for not publishing stories that have really appeared.

Now, of course, the *Daily Worker* staff is not perfect. And there are a great many weaknesses in the center also. We can be more sharp with the center, if we begin by clearing out of the way all this false criticism. In the center, the shortcomings arise precisely out of the fact that the small number of comrades who have to handle so much work and write so many things, have a tendency to become mechanical. They have a tendency to slip into abstractions. They do not sufficiently put the fresh, living slogans of struggle into terms of reporting the news of the day. The *Daily Worker* is improving—we have seen a distinct improvement, especially in the last few days of the election campaign. This can be noted, but the main weaknesses still remain. While the *Daily Worker* is becoming a better propagandist and better agitational organ, it is a very weak organizer. The Party itself is a very weak organizer.

In changing the Party into a strong organizational leader of struggle, we must emphasize that the *Daily Worker* must also be an organizational leader—must put forward slogans of organization, the means of organization, not only on the back page in a long article by Comrade Schmies, but on every page of the *Daily Worker*, in five or six lines, write about shop committees, grievance committees, etc. All organizational phases from bottom up must be woven into small news items in the *Daily Worker*. One reason

why this has not been done before is that we have allowed the *Daily Worker* staff to vegetate too much in the office. Now we are changing the situation somewhat—there are a few of them here at this Plenum. We must connect the *Daily Worker* staff more closely with district work, with trade unions, and while getting more work out of them in the office, give them a little work outside also. They don't work hard enough now. (Laughter.)

LESSONS OF THE ELECTIONS

A few words about the election campaign. Here the Party showed progress. We extended our circle of supporters generally by about one hundred per cent, and in very important small industrial cities, six, seven and eight hundred per cent. The Party itself worked as it has never worked before. We had real activities of the Party in the election campaign. We saw the beginnings of new methods of work. But generally, we must say that the election campaign was a most glaring expression of all the weaknesses of the Party. Precisely because of the favorable situation, in the election campaign, there should have been the concentration of full forces of the Party to realize the possibilities among the masses—but we didn't see this. Why? The answer in the election campaign is precisely the same as the answer in every other field of our mass work. There was very little concrete campaigning in the districts. The districts got out our national Congressional platform. They did well on this. We sold 130,000 copies in English and 50,000 copies in translations; 180,000 copies of our election platform in pamphlet form were sold, and this is a distinct advance over anything we have ever done in this line before. The districts got out leaflets, large numbers of leaflets. Our total distribution in this campaign runs up to four or five million leaflets.

Why didn't we get more votes then? The Party membership was active; we had a large distribution of our program, millions of leaflets were distributed, thousands of street meetings, hundreds, if not thousands of hall meetings were held, some of them the largest election meetings held by any party. Still, we only little more than doubled our vote. The masses were sympathetic to us. We had such a hearing as we never got before. I think all of us were surprised at the warmth of sympathy of the masses of workers. Why didn't they vote for us? The reason why they did not vote for us is because we talked too abstractly about the revolution and not enough about relief for the unemployed. In fact, the little example I cited before of the comrade who told the workers that the way to get unemployed insurance was to make the revolution, was a sample of our campaign. To make a revolution

is a good way to get unemployment insurance, of course, but such agitation will not make a revolution nor build up an organization now.

We convinced hundreds of thousands of workers that the revolution is a good thing, that the Communist Party is a leader of the struggle for the revolution, therefore, they approve of the Communist Party. But we did not convince them that the Communist Party leads the fight *today*, to get something out of the capitalists. In fact, we did not set ourselves the task of convincing the workers of that. We thought we had to convince the workers that they needed the revolution and when we convinced them, they would vote for us. We overlooked the fact that the only road to the revolution is mobilization, organization, and struggles for the immediate demands of the workers. Such a mobilization for immediate demands would in no way weaken our general revolutionary slogans. It would have sharpened our slogan of class against class—made it seem a real thing for the starving worker today—so that he could feel that part of the fight for bread would be a vote for the Communist Party.

We had some very good examples which we could have used for the election campaign. A good example here in New York of how to conduct the struggle was our demonstration at City Hall, our delegation on October 16 demanding some of the money from the budget for the immediate relief of the unemployed. Comrade Nessin and others got beaten up, others outside got policemen's clubs on their heads and the socialists denounced us as uncouth and rude, but the Board met again the next day and gave \$1,000,000 for unemployment relief! Did we seize upon this to show the workers that the smallest gain that they got is through the Communist Party, that the Communist Party is the only practical Party for winning immediate demands—food and shelter for the unemployed? We did not do it, and worst of all, we did not carry forward this fight we started, nor expand it all over the entire country.

And so whenever we have a good lead, we do not appreciate it, and do not consciously develop the same kind of good work everywhere. We do too much by rule of thumb. We do not examine our work to throw out the unproductive methods and place the good example as the directive as to what must be done in every district, in every city and neighborhood.

The election campaign was also weak because it was too much of an isolated campaign. We did not hook it up with the activity of the revolutionary unions, with the issues of the work at hand,

with the strike demands in the basic industries. None of these things were brought in, and as a result, the election campaign was weakened. The struggle against war which should have been an outstanding feature of the election campaign was only expressed in the most general terms, and so on.

About the concrete organizational details of our election campaign. We have on the organizational side of the work some scandalous examples of a frivolous attitude toward revolutionary organization. For example, the state of Ohio, a most important industrial state, with one of the oldest traditions of a revolutionary movement, where the old left wing movement had a strong center, where we have had some of our most promising economic struggles—in the state of Ohio, we were not even on the ballot. Why? Because of any special difficulties placed in our way which we were not able to overcome by the most intense efforts? Not so. Simply because of neglect of the mechanical legal steps to get on the ballot and after we failed to get on the ballot in Ohio because the district could not find \$30 to print signature lists, then an almost complete failure to get on the local and county tickets afterwards.

We can only say of such an example that this is a frivolous attitude toward Party work, the kind of attitude that cannot be tolerated in the Party. We must have the same seriousness toward election struggles as toward the organization of strikes. We must be at least as serious in our organizational preparations for the fight as the bourgeoisie is. For example, we know that in New York City the head boss of Tammany Hall thought the organization for the polling of such importance that he got up at 4:30 A. M. to attend breakfast with the election workers to give final instructions before they went to the polls. But Browder did not get up at 4:30 to organize the Communist workers; Hathaway did not get up to be sure the election returns were in the *Daily Worker*. We had only a few serious election workers in the districts.

Now, the importance of this is more than the exact hour that the comrade gets out of bed; the importance is the kind of approach we make to the problem of the election campaign. In this we had a reflection of our general carelessness about organizational details. We must tighten up.

I must say a few words of political analysis of the elections. I warned against high-falutin' phrases. We do not need to spend much time in detailed explanation of the election results. But perhaps it is well to spend five minutes on high politics in analyzing the lessons of the elections, in order to guard against certain misinterpretations that may be made.

What is the outstanding feature of the election results? Does it

show that the American bourgeoisie has entered into a political crisis? I do not think anyone says the elections showed a political crisis in bourgeois ruling circles, although there have been tendencies toward such an interpretation. We are witnessing the maturing of some of the elements of a political crisis. Of course, history is traveling very fast nowadays, very fast indeed, and we cannot say that it will be a long time before the political crisis matures in the United States. But at the present time we have not to revise our general estimate of the political situation.

What did the elections show? They showed that the effects of the economic crisis are beginning to manifest themselves on a mass scale politically, by a loosening up of the old political alignments, by a more fluid condition in the political alignments of the masses, concretely expressing itself in the exceptionally large number of people who registered themselves in the primaries as non-Party, and later in the elections switched their allegiance from one party to another, or from one faction to another faction within the bourgeois parties. This is the first main result of the impact of the economic crisis upon the masses.

The second is the growing sensitiveness among the masses to the relations between questions of government and questions of economic interest to the masses. The masses more and more express the realization that government has a relation to their economic situation.

The third characteristic is more pronounced indifference to the old political slogans and catchwords of the parties. The fourth, consequently, is the development of demagoguery on an unprecedented scale, as between the parties and the factions within the parties—growing competition between them, on the basis of demagoguery as to who could make the appearance of promising the most without promising anything at all.

Then, fifth, there was the campaign and vote of the Communist Party; the campaign more significant, perhaps, than the vote.

Because it is quite clear that the tremendous swing from an overwhelming Hoover landslide in 1928, into an overwhelming Democratic landslide in 1930, because it is clear that this is the result of the impact of the economic crisis upon the masses, some comrades were inclined to say that, therefore, this Democratic vote is an expression of the radicalization of the masses. Comrades, we must warn against any such interpretation. It is completely wrong, politically wrong; it is not good political analysis. This vote was a witness of the bankruptcy of the myth of Hoover, bankruptcy of the “permanent prosperity” legend, bankruptcy of the idea of the engineer in politics, bankruptcy of the whole theory of organized capitalism in all its forms. Yes, it was that. It was a sign of the

loosening of the old political alignments under the impact of the economic crisis, the sign of a growing mass discontent which is blindly seeking forms of expression. But this mass political discontent did not find the channels of political radicalization, did not find a political expression that expressed the radicalization of the masses. The masses are being radicalized, but this did not express itself in the Democratic vote. The expression of this radicalization can be found in many other places, but not in the vote of the Democratic party. The vote for the Democratic Party registered a successful effort of all bourgeois parties and all their factions, to prevent the radicalization of the workers from expressing itself.

There is not a serious shade of difference in program between the two main capitalist parties, nor between them and the third capitalist party (the socialists). Within each of the parties, the various sections and groups provide approximately the same range of shadings from "reactionary" to "progressive," and all of them agree fundamentally on the same fundamental program. This program is within the confines of the interests of finance capital in every case. The special interests of parties and factions, within the general limits of the policies of finance capital, are based upon the interests of some group of the bourgeoisie, the special interests of one group as against the other groups, but in all questions relating to the relations between dominant finance capital and the exploited masses, every one of these parties and factions expresses the interests of finance capital against the masses.

It is therefore absurd to speak of one of them being more Left than the other. So that even if we could speak of the "masses moving to the Left," because they moved from the Right party of finance capital to the Left party of finance capital—even if this were true, which it is not—even so, there was no movement to the left in the movement from the Republican to the Democratic party.

Some comrades try to interpret the election in a different way. They say, yes, it is not the swing from Republican to Democratic that is significant, the significant thing, they say, is that within both parties the outstanding victories were of the progressives and the outstanding defeats were of the reactionary leaders. They point to Pinchot, a Republican progressive, winning in Pennsylvania, while reactionary Republicans were being defeated by progressive Democrats elsewhere, and so on. It shows a swing to the "left" they say, because the progressive factions won against the reactionary factions.

Nothing of the kind. The difference between these factions is not a difference between reactionary and progressive, but between those

who stuck to the old methods of appealing to the masses and those who realized the need of new and demagogic methods of appeal to the masses, for the same program—a conflict in demagoguery and nothing else. There are real conflicts of interest between these factions, yes, conflicts between different groups of the bourgeoisie, every one of which is subordinate to finance capital. Therefore there is no sense in giving classifications of “reactionary” and “progressive” to the factions within the old parties. We have to study these factions and find out the real underlying differences behind their masks of “reactionary” and “progressive,” but we must not be fooled by these masks for one minute. We must not lose sight of the fact that behind these masks there exist the elements of fascism, the same for both of them. In some cases the progressive leaders themselves are the direct bearers of fascism in the capitalist camp. And let us not fall into the error of classifying them offhand as “left” merely because the *Chicago Tribune* interprets the elections as a general swing to the left. Nothing of the kind. The real sign of the radicalization of the masses, to be found in the elections, is the enormous increase in demagoguery required from all the capitalist parties in order to prevent a profound radical expression of the masses; and further in the doubling of the Communist vote.

BUILD MASS ORGANIZATIONS

(A few words about the general question of the work of our auxiliary organizations. We must give more detailed attention to the building of our auxiliary organizations and finding new forms of organization, or developing old forms that have been neglected, where they particularly fit our needs today, of concretizing the immediate economic needs of the masses.

Particularly, comrades, we must register in the Plenum the necessity of giving a very definite mass development to the mutual aid societies which are under our influence, or within which we can work and develop very definite class programs. We must link them up with the whole revolutionary work of our Party as links with the masses, links representing certain economic and cultural needs of the working class reaching workers who could not be reached otherwise. We must definitely set the forces to work which will bring about a unification of all of these various mutual aid organizations, bring them together insofar as this is possible without narrowing the mass base. We must unite their forces as much as possible, strengthening them financially and ideologically, and bringing them under the influence of the revolutionary movement. Too many mass organizations are such only in theory, while in practice they are merely agencies for collecting money by various means to pay their overhead

expenses. Comrades, this kind of mass organization we do not need. This is a parasite on the movement and stands as a barrier between us and the masses. We want mass organizations with mass membership that function and control the organizations under the leadership of our Party. We do not want bureaucratic caricatures of mass organizations—and practically all of our mass organizations suffer from tendencies in this direction. I think the I.L.D., for example, in only a very few districts really has a mass membership. The only district where I have been able to find a considerable mass I.L.D. membership organization was in Chicago. Perhaps it exists in some other district, but if so, I do not know about it. Mainly it exists by drawing out of the air unorganized contacts or by circularizing thousands of names, sending circular letters that draw in a few contributions, and wastes a great deal of time in mimeographing endless numbers of circulars, postage, and loads of paper and ink. We must eliminate this process of trying to organize through the Post Office and of reaching our contacts by circulars; we must establish living contacts and a membership which will support our organizations.

The problem of building new cadres: This is a very burning problem with us. We must give this much more serious attention. We must develop systematic training and the circulation of theoretical literature as well as mass literature in our Party. I cannot take time to talk very much about this in my report but comrades of the School Committee will deal with this. They will tell you about the plans that have been prepared. We must also have plans for all of the district schools and for the whole question of training cadres and raising the level of the existing cadres. This must be given real serious attention.

Comrades, I do not want to extend the time set for this report. I realize that to a certain extent the report has been somewhat sketchy and schematic and that this report has suffered from the general defects of our Party in lack of sufficient concretization. I hope, however, there has been sufficient example of concretization, of trying to bring our line from the clouds down to the ground, example of Bolshevik elimination of high-falutin' phrases to make room for the practical tasks of the Party. The comrades who are here from the C.C. and the Districts will be able to carry this much further, concretize it more, giving more political substance to the whole life of the Party.

We are entering, we are in, a period of great difficulties and great opportunities. The coming winter is going to be one of the deepest crisis for world capitalism and for capitalism in the United States. Capitalism in the U. S. is hardest hit of all capitalist countries. The

forces of revolution rising throughout the world also express themselves in this country. We have the task of organizing, crystallizing, leading these forces, giving them a sound basis of organization among the masses, establishing the leadership of the revolutionary section of the working class over the broad discontented masses that will be brought into action by the daily struggles. The tremendous opportunities that are afforded to us in this country, we must utilize in the most business-like manner. Some comrades may object to the connotation of "business," but there are some parts of business we should not be opposed to learning from, so that we go about our work with the same intense seriousness with which one goes about the business of getting a livelihood, the same intense seriousness that comes of being hungry and going after something to eat, the same intense concentration upon practical accomplishment of the goal we set ourselves. This is the only way in which we will be able to make the most of the opportunities that will be presented to us in the coming winter.

It is in this spirit that we should approach our problems in this Plenum. We have no need to get lost in high-falutin' political discussions, or to re-examine the line of our Party. The most political, really Bolshevik, task is that of expressing our correct line in the terms of everyday life—and this is the task of the Plenum.



Lenin's Contribution to the National and Colonial Oppressed

By HARRISON GEORGE

THE Malay toiler in the steaming plantations of Java, the Negro share-cropper of the cotton fields of Alabama, the Afridi mountaineer of the Northern frontier of India, the rickshaw coolie panting between his shafts on the streets of Shanghai, the Peruvian Indian tending the master's llamas on the steep slopes of the Andes—from all these there comes the stir of revolt, the clash of arms, the rising wave of colonial revolution blending and becoming a part of the world revolution against capitalist imperialism. And common to them all, whatever their tongue, are two words: "Lenin" and "Soviet."

To give some measure of Comrade Lenin's contribution to the colonial and national revolution we must, however, not only survey the present sweep of the revolution of the oppressed, now rising in a tremendous flood among the 100,000,000 Latin Americans, the 300,000,000 masses of India, the 150,000,000 "forgotten" toilers of Malaysia, the 400,000,000 workers and peasants of China. We should also take account of what came before Lenin, the Second International.

For that matter, the Second International, after Lenin's clarification of its pre-war role, has become since the war ever more a part of the imperialist machinery of oppression. This we see in the butchery of both Chinese and Indians by the government of the "socialist" MacDonald; the participation of the Dutch "socialists" in the massacres of Javanese workers; the same for French socialists in Indo-China; the empty gestures of hypocritical "sympathy" of the American "socialists" for the victims of American imperialism when forced to that pretense—and their silence when possible, their support of MacDonald's terror regime in India; and in many other facts showing the increasing rottenness of social reformism.

No better witness to the detestable reformist, the "socialist," attitude of the Second International, the attitude against which Lenin fought and the vestiges of which each Leninist is still fighting in the sections of the Communist International, can be found than Lenin himself, speaking at the Second Congress of the Communist International:

"The parties of the Second International promised to act revolutionarily, but we cannot find any genuinely revolutionary work

and aid to the exploited and oppressed peoples in their revolts against their oppressors among the parties of the Second International, nor, I suggest, among the majority of the parties which have left the Second and wish to enter the Third International. We must declare this fact for all to hear, and it cannot be denied."

That was ten years ago. Although marked progress has been made, yet all too insufficiently do the Communist Parties of the imperialist countries discharge their duty, as pointed out by Lenin, to the oppressed peoples. Our own Party has made but a faint beginning, and that only recently.

Our Party has still to complete the struggle to clarify for itself and for the American proletariat the overwhelming importance of the national and colonial revolution. A comrade only recently, confronted by a question as to why we should champion self-determination for the Negroes, "when," said the objector, "the Negroes speak the same language as ourselves?" could not answer this simple query behind which the "socialists" of the Second International hid for decades their collaboration in imperialist oppression.

Our Party has begun, but only recently and as yet most inadequately, to interest itself in Latin America. In this, as well as in the Negro question, there are still remnants of chauvinism incompatible with a Bolshevik position. In this field we must develop much more than a "purely" theoretical understanding. We must develop practical support for the national revolutionary movement of Latin America, and must wipe out the chauvinistic under-estimation of the revolutionary potentialities of the millions of Latin American workers residing here in the United States.

So profoundly important did Lenin deem the revolution of oppressed peoples that he took up the old slogan: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" and added to it: "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" (Lenin's speech on *Concessions*, November 27, 1920.)

Lenin's contribution to the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat upon this question was, then, the sanitation of the proletarian movement, the freeing of it from the stench of opportunism that grew up with the Second International, and the insistent teaching that an alliance of the proletarian and the colonial revolution is a prerequisite of victory.

Here, also, we must counteract the lie of imperialist apologists who hold that Lenin "invented" the colonial revolution after the October Revolution, that "disappointed with the defeat of proletarian revolution in the West," the Bolsheviks "turned to the East for trouble-making."

Lenin had largely developed his thesis on the national and colonial questions long before the Bolsheviks seized power. He had developed it on the basis of Marx and Engels, whom the reformists of the Second International had falsified and concealed.

Answering Bakunin on the Irish question, Bakunin having accused the First International (International Workingmen's Association) of busying itself with "local political issues not entering into their competence," Marx wrote in 1870 (Letters to Kugelman):

"The attitude of the I. W. M. A. on the Irish question is very clear. Its first task is to accelerate the social revolution in Britain. To this end it is necessary to strike a decisive blow in Ireland."

Again, in the same year, writing to Engels, Marx said:

"After many years of study of the Irish question, I have come to the conclusion that a decisive blow to the ruling classes of Britain can be inflicted not in Britain, but only in Ireland—and it would have a decisive importance for the workers' movement throughout the world."

In 1894, Engels wrote: "The conquest of China by capitalism will at the same time give an impetus to the crash of capitalism in Europe and America." It remained only for Lenin to bring forward the oppressed masses of the colonies as independent participants in the world revolution, as an active ally of the revolutionary proletariat and to insist—against the opportunist traditions of the Second International—that the revolutionary proletariat recognize and aid, in deeds, its ally.

Already in 1914, in his article, *On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, and referring to Marx in his own fight against the dominant opportunism on the national question in the Second International, Lenin wrote:

"Marx was accustomed to 'gnash his teeth,' as he expressed himself to his socialist friends, in testing their consciousness and conviction. After making the acquaintance of Lopatin, Marx wrote to Engels on May 15, 1870, in terms highly flattering to the young Russian socialist, but added: 'His weak point is Poland. On that subject Lopatin says exactly the same as an Englishman, a British Chartist of the old school, say, says about Ireland.'"

Again, in 1913, in his article, *The Awakening of Asia*, Lenin wrote, clearly foreseeing the historic conjuncture of today:

"World capitalism and the Russian movement of 1905 have completed the awakening of Asia. Hundreds of millions sunk and demoralized in medieval stagnation have awakened to a new life

and to the struggle for the elemental rights of humanity, for democracy. . . . The awakening of Asia, and the beginning of the struggle for power among the leading proletariat of Europe, herald the new period of world history which is opening at the beginning of the twentieth century."

Even in those days, still in 1912, in Lenin's *Renewed China*, dealing with the revolution of 1911, the master strategist could foresee the development of the danger to the colonial revolution, of the absence of a revolutionary party of the proletariat:

"The Chinese freedom is won by the alliance of the peasant democracy and the liberal bourgeoisie; whether the peasants, undirected by a party of the proletariat, will be able to hold on to their democratic positions against the liberals who are only awaiting a convenient moment in order to turn to the right—only the distant future will show."

Again, in 1916, in the thesis, *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of the Nations to Self-Determination*, Lenin wrote:

"The socialists must support the most revolutionary elements of the bourgeois-democratic national emancipation movements in these countries—semi-colonial countries such as China, Persia, Turkey and all the colonies—in the most determined fashion, and aid their rising against the imperialist powers oppressing them."

It was, of course, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, in 1920, after the Bolshevik Revolution, and in the formulation of the Second Congress Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions, that Lenin was able to hammer out and impress upon the upsurging revolutionary proletarian movement his matured contributions to these vital problems.

In the Second International, the question of self-determination was not only treated formally, as a matter of "constitutional adjustment"—by parliamentary means, of course. It was limited in scope to a few oppressed nationalities of Europe, such as the Irish, the Poles, and the Serbians, while the teeming hundreds of millions of the East were left entirely out of the picture, and Latin America simply did not exist.

The Second International opportunists placed the question of self-determination formally, as calling upon them merely for an empty declaration favoring "the equality of nations." They ignored the reality of imperialist oppression of a majority of nations by a minority. Since they did not relate the national question to the question of capital, of oppression and exploitation by capitalist

imperialism, their "equality of nations" was held to make no requirements upon them, upon the revolutionary proletariat of the imperialist country.

The opportunists held that the proletariat of Europe could win power without any alliance with the vast masses of peoples oppressed by European capitalism, whose liberation, if talked of at all, was pictured as taking place "automatically" as a by-product of proletarian revolution in Europe. In reality, this was a desertion of revolution on both fronts, both in Europe and the colonies.

The opportunists held—and still hold!—that self-determination is limited to "home rule" or some other phrase about "autonomy" which should allow "cultural liberation" and so on—but keeps the oppressed nation politically subjected. As Comrade Stalin has pointed out: "Thus interpreted, the notion of self-determination, instead of being a weapon for use in the struggle against annexation, became a justification for annexation!"

Lenin, of course, pointed out, and the Second C.I. Congress Thesis expressly noted, that there is a danger in abstractions. Merely because a movement is labelled "nationalist" does not exclude the possibility that it may be reactionary and should be opposed rather than aided by Communists. An example in point is the Palestine conflict of 1929, when it came as a surprise to some comrades of our own Party that the Central Committee "took sides" with the Arabs—although as far back as in the Second Congress (1920) Thesis it was said:

"As a striking example of the deception practiced upon the working class of a subject country through the combined efforts of Allied imperialism and the bourgeoisie of a given nation, we may cite the Palestine affair of the Zionists, where, under the pretext of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, in which Jews form only an insignificant part of the population, Zionism has delivered the native Arabian working population to the exploitation of England."

Again, in the conflict over the Chinese Eastern Railway, the "socialists," who can be deaf, dumb, and paralyzed on national oppression when their imperialists' needs require it, were howling at the refusal of "red imperialism" to give up the railway to "poor, oppressed China." The latter, in this special case, by no means represented the workers and peasants of China, or even the Chinese people as a whole. It represented the combined world imperialist powers which, as now exposed by the Moscow trials, were "trying out" the strength of the Soviet in the Manchurian conflict. To give the railway to the "nationalist" generals, Chiang Kai-shek and

Chang Hsueh-liang, would be to give it to imperialism—and let them use it as a road to attack the Soviet and strengthen imperialist oppression of the Chinese masses.

Hence the necessity which Lenin insisted on, *of a close study of the concrete conditions*, and the duty of the proletariat to support national movements “which weaken and subvert imperialism, not those which tend to strengthen and maintain it” (Stalin). From this analysis, we should see clearly why our Party must support the self-determination of the oppressed Negroes of America.

The Second Congress Thesis also warned against petty bourgeois national prejudices, shown in race hatred, national antagonism, and anti-Semitism.

Space forbids that we develop here the whole of Lenin’s theory on the national and colonial questions. But some of his speech at the Second C.I. Congress is necessary. Commenting on the Thesis he said in part:

“First, what is the most important, the main idea of our theses? The difference between the oppressed and the oppressing peoples. We underline this difference in contradistinction to the Second International and bourgeois democracy.

“The second governing idea of our theses consists in our view that in the present world situation, after the imperialist war, the mutual relationships of the peoples, the whole world system of states is determined by the struggle of a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states, at the head of which is Soviet Russia.

“Third, I should like particularly to underline the question of the bourgeois-democratic movement in the backward countries. This question indeed evoked certain differences of opinion. . . . There is not the least doubt that any nationalist movement can only be a bourgeois-democratic movement. . . . It would be Utopian to think that the proletarian parties, even if they can penetrate generally into such countries, can carry out Communist tactics and Communist policy in these backward countries, without having definite relations with the peasant movement, without supporting it in practice.”

But

“very frequently, and perhaps in the majority of cases, although the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries support the national movement, at the same time they struggle against all the revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes.” Hence we “have considered it the only sound attitude almost everywhere to substitute for the expression ‘bourgeois-democratic,’ the expression ‘nationalist-revolutionary.’ The purport of this change is that we as Communists must and will support the bourgeois emancipation movements only when those movements are genuinely revolutionary,

when their representatives will not hinder us from educating and organizing the peasantry and the vast masses of the exploited in the revolutionary spirit."

Further:

"The unconditional duty of the Communist Parties, and of those elements which are attached to them, is to carry on propaganda for the idea of peasant Soviets, Soviets of toilers everywhere and anywhere, both in the backward countries and in the colonies, and there they must strive, as far as conditions permit, to set up Soviets of the toiling people."

Finally:

"The Communist International must establish and give theoretical basis to the assumption that, with the aid of the proletariat of the leading countries, the backward countries can pass to the Soviet system and, through definite degrees of development, to Communism, avoiding the capitalist stage of development."

It is this glorious perspective which makes the name of Lenin venerated by the oppressed national and colonial masses of every corner of the globe. It is this, also, which caused Lenin himself to note that: "They all gaze at one star, at the star of the Soviet Republic, because they know that that republic has made the greatest of sacrifices for the struggle against the imperialists, and has stood firm against desperate trials."

Theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920

ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS

(A) THESES

1. It is typical of the very nature of bourgeois democracy to take an abstract or formal attitude towards the question of the colonies in general, and to that of national equality in particular. With the formula of the equality of human beings in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal or juridical equality of the proprietor and the proletarian, of the exploiter and the exploited, thereby greatly deceiving the oppressed classes. On the pretext of absolute equality of human beings, the bourgeoisie converts the idea of equality, which is in itself but a reflection of the relations caused by commodity production, into an instrument in the struggle against the abolition of classes. But the real essence of the demand for equality is based on the demand for the abolition of classes.

2. In conformity with its chief task—the struggle against bourgeois democracy and the denunciation of its lies and deceptions—the Communist Party, as the class-conscious expression of the struggle of the proletariat to cast off the yoke of the bourgeoisie, must not advance any abstract and formal principles on the national question, but must first analyze the historical, and especially the economic conditions; second, it must clearly distinguish the interests of the oppressed classes, of the toilers, of the exploited, from the general conception of national interests which in reality means the interests of the ruling class; third, it must equally separate the oppressed and subject nations from the dominating nations, in contradistinction to the bourgeois democratic lies concealing the enslavement of a vast majority of the population of the earth by an insignificant minority of the advanced capitalist nations, which is peculiar to the epoch of financial capital and imperialism.

3. The imperialist war of 1914 has demonstrated very clearly to all nations and to all oppressed classes of the world the deceitfulness of bourgeois democratic phraseology. That war was waged on both sides under the false pretense of the freedom of nations and

national self-determination. But the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest peaces on the one hand, and the Versailles and Saint-Germain peaces on the other, have shown how the bourgeoisie establishes even "national" boundaries in conformity with its own economic interests. "National" boundaries are for the bourgeoisie nothing but market commodities. The so-called "League of Nations" is nothing but an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey. The striving for the reconstruction of national unity and of the "re-union of separated territories" on the part of the bourgeoisie, is nothing but an attempt of the vanquished to gather forces for new wars. The re-uniting of the nationalities artificially torn asunder corresponds also to the interests of the proletariat, but real national freedom and unity can be achieved by the proletariat only through revolutionary struggle and by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The League of Nations and the policy of the imperialist powers after the war demonstrates this even more clearly and definitely, making the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries more acute, increasing the ferment of the working masses of the colonies and the subject countries, and dispelling the middle-class nationalist illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and equality of nations under capitalism.

4. It follows from the fundamental principles laid down above that the policy of the Communist International on National and Colonial questions must be chiefly to bring about a union of the proletarian and working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of capitalism without which national equality and oppression cannot be abolished.

5. The political situation of the world at the present time has placed the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the foreground, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point, namely, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, which is grouping around itself the Soviet movements of the vanguard of the workers of all countries, and all national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries, which have been taught by bitter experience that there can be no salvation for them outside of a union with the revolutionary proletariat, and the triumph of the Soviet power over imperialism.

6. Consequently, we must not content ourselves with a mere recognition or declaration concerning the unity of the workers of different nations, but we must carry out a policy of realizing the closest union between all national and colonial liberation movements and Soviet Russia, determining the forms of this union in accordance with the stage of development of the Communist movement among

the proletariat of each country, or the revolutionary liberation movement in the subject nations and backward countries.

7. Federation is a transitional form towards the complete union of the workers of all countries. It has already proved its efficiency in practice in the relations of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of Russia to the other Soviet Republics (Hungary, Finland, Latvia, in the past; and Azerbeidjan and Ukraine in the present), as also within the borders of the Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of Russia with regard to the nationalities which had neither their own government nor any self-governing institutions (for example, the autonomous Bashkir Republic and the Tartar Republic, which were formed in 1919-1920 by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic).

8. It is the task of the Communist International in this regard not only to develop further, but also to study and test by experience, these federations which have arisen out of the Soviet order and the Soviet movement. Recognizing federation as a transition form towards complete union, we must strive for ever closer federative connections, bearing in mind first, the impossibility of maintaining the Soviet Republic surrounded by powerful imperialist nations, without a close union with other Soviet Republics; second, the necessity of a close economic union of the Soviet Republics, without which the restoration of the forces of production destroyed by imperialism, and the assuring of the welfare of the workers is impossible; third, the striving towards the creation of a unified world economy based on one general plan and regulated by the proletariat of all the nations of the world. This tendency has already manifested itself under capitalism, and is undoubtedly going to be further developed and perfected by Socialism.

9. With regard to inter-state relations, the international policy of the Communist International cannot limit itself to a mere formal verbal declaration of the recognition of the equality of nations, which does not involve any practical obligations, such as has been made by the bourgeois democrats who styled themselves socialist. The constant violations of the equality of nations and the infringement upon the rights of national minorities practiced in all the capitalist states in spite of the democratic constitutions, must be denounced in all the propaganda and agitational activity of the Communist International, within, as well as outside the parliament. It is likewise necessary, first, to explain constantly that only the Soviet regime is able to give the nations real equality, by uniting the proletariat and all the masses of the workers in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; second, to support the revolutionary movement among the subject nations (for example, Ireland, American Negroes, etc.) and in the colonies.

Without this last, especially important condition, the struggle against the oppression of dependent nations and colonies, as well as the recognition of their right to an independent existence, is only a misleading signboard, such as has been exhibited by the parties of the Second International.

10. It is the habitual practice not only of the center parties of the Second International, but also of those which have left it, to recognize internationalism in words and then to adulterate it in their propaganda, agitation, and practical activity by mixing it up with petty bourgeois nationalism and pacifism. This is to be found even among those parties that at present call themselves Communist. The struggle against this evil, and against the deep-rooted petty bourgeois national prejudices (manifesting themselves in various forms, such as race hatred, national antagonism and anti-Semitism), must be brought to the foreground the more vigorously because of the urgent necessity of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat and changing it from a national basis (*i. e.*, existing in one country and incapable of exercising an influence over world politics) into an international dictatorship (*i. e.*, a dictatorship of the proletariat of at least several advanced countries capable of exercising a determined influence upon world politics). Petty bourgeois internationalism means the mere recognition of the rights of national equality, and preserves intact national egotism. Proletarian internationalism, on the other hand, demands: (a) the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one nation to the interests of that struggle on an international scale; (b) the capability and the readiness on the part of one nation which has gained a victory over the bourgeoisie, of making the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capitalism.

In the countries in which fully developed capitalist states exist, the labor parties, comprising the vanguard of the proletariat, must consider it as their primary and most important task to combat the opportunist and petty bourgeois pacifist confusion of the ideas and the policy of internationalism.

11. With regard to those states and nationalities where a backward, mainly feudal, patriarchal, or patriarchal-agrarian regime prevails, the following must be borne in mind: (a) All Communist Parties must give active support to the revolutionary movements of liberation, the form of support to be determined by a study of existing conditions, carried on by the Party wherever there is one. This duty of rendering active support is to be imposed in the first place on the workers of those countries on whom the subject nation is dependent in a colonial or financial way; (b) naturally, a struggle must be carried on against the reactionary medieval influences of the clergy,

the christian missions, and similar elements; (c) it is also necessary to combat the pan-Islam and pan-Asiatic and similar movements, which are endeavoring to utilize the liberation struggle against European and American imperialism for the purpose of strengthening the power of Turkish and Japanese imperialists, of the nobility, of the large land owners, of the clergy, etc.; (d) it is of special importance to support the peasant movements in backward countries against the land owners and all feudal survivals; above all, we must strive as far as possible to give the peasant movement a revolutionary character, to organize the peasants and all the exploited into the Soviets, and thus bring about the closest possible union between the Communist proletariat of Western Europe and the revolutionary peasant movement of the East and of the colonial and subject countries; (e) it is likewise necessary to wage determined war against the attempt of quasi-Communist revolutionists to cloak the liberation movement in the backward countries with a Communist garb. It is the duty of the Communist International to support the revolutionary movement in the colonies and in the backward countries, for the exclusive purpose of uniting the various units of the future proletarian parties—such as are Communist not only in name—in all backward countries and educate them to the consciousness of their specific tasks, *i. e.*, to the tasks of the struggle against the bourgeois democratic tendencies within their respective nationalities. The Communist International must establish temporary relations and even unions with the revolutionary movements in the colonies and backward countries without, however, amalgamating with them, but preserving the independent character of the proletarian movement, even though it be still in its embryonic state; (f) it is essential continually to expose the deception fostered among the masses of the toilers in all, and especially in the backward countries, by the imperialist powers aided by privileged classes of the subject countries, in creating under the mask of political independence various governments and state institutions which are in reality completely dependent upon them economically, financially and in a military sense. As a striking example of the deception practiced upon the working class of a subject country through the combined efforts of allied imperialism and the bourgeoisie of the given nation, we may cite the Palestine affair of the Zionists where, under the pretext of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, in which the Jews form only an insignificant part of the population, Zionism has delivered the native Arabian working population to the exploitation of England. Only a union of Soviet Republics can bring salvation to the dependent and weak nationalities under present international conditions.

12. The age-long enslavement of the colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers, has given rise to a feeling of rancor among the masses of the enslaved countries, as well as to a feeling of distrust towards the oppressive nations in general and towards the proletariat of those nations. These sentiments have become strengthened by the base treachery of the majority of the official leaders of the proletariat in the years of 1914-1919, when the social patriots came out in defense of their fatherlands and of the "rights" of their bourgeoisie to the enslavement of the colonies and to the plunder of the financially dependent countries. These sentiments can be completely rooted out only by the abolition of imperialism in the advanced countries and the radical transformation of all the foundations of economic life in the backward countries. Thus, it will take a long time for these national prejudices to disappear. This imposes upon the class conscious proletariat of all countries the duty of exercising special caution and care with regard to these national sentiments still surviving in the countries and nationalities which have been subjected to lasting enslavement, and also of making necessary concessions in order more speedily to remove this distrust and prejudice. The victory over capitalism cannot be fully achieved and carried to its ultimate goal unless the proletariat and the toiling masses of all nations of the world rally of their own accord in a harmonious and close union.

(B) SUPPLEMENTARY THESES

(1) To determine more especially the relation of the Communist International to the revolutionary movements in the countries dominated by capitalistic imperialism, for instance, China and India, is one of the most important questions before the Second Congress of the Third International. The history of the world revolution has come to a period when a proper understanding of this relation is indispensable. The great European war and its results have shown clearly that the masses of non-European subject countries are inseparably connected with the proletarian movement in Europe, as a consequence of the centralization of world capitalism—for instance, the sending of colonial troops and huge armies of workers to the battle front during the war, etc.

(2) One of the main sources from which European capitalism draws its chief strength is to be found in the colonial possessions and dependencies. Without the control of the extensive markets and vast fields of exploitation in the colonies, the capitalist powers of Europe cannot maintain their existence even for a short time. England, the stronghold of imperialism, has been suffering from overproduction for more than a century. But for the extensive

colonial possessions acquired for the sale of her surplus products and as a source of raw materials for her ever-growing industries, the capitalistic structure of England would have been crushed under its own weight long ago. By enslaving the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of Asia and Africa, English imperialism succeeds so far in keeping the British proletariat under the domination of the bourgeoisie.

(3) Super-profit gained in the colonies is the mainstay of modern capitalism, and so long as the latter is not deprived of this source of super-profit, it will not be easy for the European working class to overthrow the capitalist order. Thanks to the possibility of the extensive and intensive exploitation of human labor and natural resources in the colonies, the capitalist nations of Europe are trying, not without success, to recuperate their present bankruptcy. By exploiting the masses in the colonies, European imperialism will be in a position to give concession after concession to the labor aristocracy at home. While, on the one hand, European imperialism seeks to lower the standard of living of the home proletariat by bringing into competition the production of the lower-paid workers in subject countries, on the other hand, it will not hesitate to go to the extent of sacrificing the entire surplus value in the home country so long as it continues to gain its huge super-profits in the colonies.

(4) The breaking up of the colonial empire, together with the proletarian revolution in the home country, will overthrow the capitalist system in Europe. Consequently, the Communist International must widen the sphere of its activities. It must establish relations with those revolutionary forces that are working for the overthrow of imperialism in the countries subjected politically and economically. These two forces must be co-ordinated if the final success of the world revolution is to be guaranteed.

(5) The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the capitalist order and the establishment of Communism. The Third International is a fighting body which must assume the task of combining the revolutionary forces of all the countries of the world. Dominated as it was by a group of politicians, permeated with bourgeois culture, the Second International failed to appreciate the importance of the colonial question. For them the world did not exist outside of Europe. They could not see the necessity of co-ordinating the revolutionary movement of Europe with those in the non-European countries. Instead of giving moral and material help to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the members of the Second International themselves became imperialists.

(6) Foreign imperialism, imposed on the Eastern peoples, prevented them from developing, socially and economically, side by side with their fellows in Europe and America. Owing to the imperialist policy of preventing industrial development in the colonies, a proletarian class, in the strict sense of the word, could not come into existence there until recently. Skilled craft industries were destroyed to make room for the products of the centralized industries in the imperialistic countries, consequently, a majority of the population was driven to the land to produce food, grains, and raw materials for export to foreign lands. On the other hand, there followed a rapid concentration of land in the hands of the big land owners, of financial capitalists, and the state, thus creating a huge landless peasantry. The great bulk of the population was kept in a state of illiteracy. As a result of this policy, the spirit of revolt latent in every subject people, found its expression only through the small, educated middle-class.

Foreign domination has obstructed the free development of the social forces, therefore, its overthrow is the first step towards a revolution in the colonies. So to help overthrow the foreign rule in the colonies is not to endorse the nationalist aspirations of the native bourgeoisie, but to open the way to the smothered proletariat there.

(7) There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which every day grow farther apart from each other. One is the bourgeois democratic nationalist movement, with a program of political independence under the bourgeois order, and the other is the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for the liberation from all sorts of exploitation. The former endeavor to control the latter, and often succeed to a certain extent, but the Communist International and the parties affected must struggle against such control, and help to develop class consciousness in the working masses of the colonies. For the overthrow of foreign capitalism, which is the first step toward revolution in the colonies, the co-operation of the bourgeois nationalist revolutionary elements is useful.

But the foremost and necessary task is the formation of Communist Parties which will organize the peasants and workers and lead them to the revolution and to the establishment of Soviet republics. Thus the masses in the backward countries may reach Communism, not through capitalistic development, but led by the class conscious proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

(8) The real strength of the liberation movements in the colonies is no longer confined to the narrow circle of bourgeois democratic nationalists. In most of the colonies there already exist organized

revolutionary parties which strive to be in close connection with the working masses. (The relation of the Communist International with the revolutionary movement in the colonies should be realized through the media of these parties or groups, because they were the vanguard of the working class in their respective countries.) They are not very large today, but they reflect the aspirations of the masses and the latter will follow them to the revolution. The Communist Parties of the different imperialistic countries must work in conjunction with these proletarian parties of the colonies, and through them, give all moral and material support to the revolutionary movement in general.

(9) The revolution in the colonies is not going to be a Communist revolution in its first stages. But if from the outset the leadership is in the hands of a Communist vanguard, the revolutionary masses will not be led astray, but will go ahead through the successive periods of development of revolutionary experience. Indeed, it would be extremely erroneous in many of the oriental countries to try to solve the agrarian problem according to pure Communist principles. In its first stages the revolution in the colonies must be carried on with a program which will include many petty bourgeois reform clauses, such as division of land, etc. But from this it does not follow at all that the leadership of the revolution will have to be surrendered to the bourgeois democrats. On the contrary, the proletarian parties must carry on vigorous and systematic propaganda of the Soviet idea, and organize the peasants' and workers' Soviets as soon as possible. These Soviets will work in co-operation with the Soviet Republics in the advanced capitalistic countries for the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist order throughout the world.

Yankee Imperialism in Cuba

By R. GOMEZ

THROUGHOUT the past century the policy of the White House never ceased driving toward the acquisition of Cuba, sometimes through direct purchase, as in the Ostend Manifesto during the Buchanan administration, at other times through armed invasions, as that led by Narciso Lopez (1845), and that of the Virginius expedition.

But it was not until the end of the century, with the development of capitalist monopoly in the United States and the growth of finance capital that this policy began to bear specific fruit. In 1896, two years before the "liberation" of Cuba by the Spanish-American War, investments of United States capital in Cuba had reached a total of \$50,000,000, distributed in the mines, commercial enterprises, tobacco, and especially in sugar. First the Atkins Sugar Company of Boston, and later the American Sugar Refining Company, the sugar trust, began to extend their interests enormously.

In a short period at the end of the last century, Yankee imperialism was able to give the local bourgeoisie a severe blow, "free" Cuba from Spain, and establish its own domination of the colony.

In the period from 1890 to 1895 Yankee capitalism managed to establish sugar refineries in Cuba in order to protect itself from Spanish maneuvers and to prevent the Cuban producers from building their own industry.

The American tariff of 1890, which discriminated in favor of Cuban sugar, admitting it free of duty, soon greatly increased the production of sugar on the island. It also favored the Cuban producers, so that huge industries began to spring up rapidly.

The following table shows clearly the rapid growth of sugar production:*

	<i>Production in tons</i>
1885-89 (<i>average</i>)	630,000
1890	632,000
1891	819,000
1892	976,000
1893	815,000
1894	1,054,000

* *Our Cuban Colony*, by LELAND JENKS. 1929.

	<i>Production in tons</i>
1895	1,004,000
1896	225,000

This rapid development in the country brought about a radical transformation of industrial technique. The growth of fewer and larger-scale mills is indicated by the following figures: One thousand sugar mills existed in 1885; only four hundred were in existence in 1894, and one hundred and seventy-five in 1895.

It seemed that a real basis was then being laid for a big development of the Cuban bourgeoisie, but nothing was farther from the purpose of Yankee financial capital. In the first place, the majority of sugar was refined in the United States and the rest by the American Sugar Refining Company in Cuba, in this manner restricting the development of independent Cuban industrialization; in the second place, this "protection" in favor of the Cuban sugar industry was destined to end the importation of European sugar into the United States, and to lay the basis in Cuba for a strong economic force which would exterminate Spanish domination.

Already the United States was exporting much merchandise to Cuba, but it suffered greatly because Spain increased its tariff more than twenty-five per cent. Yankee capitalism had maneuvered and was now ready to deliver more decisive blows. These began with the tariff of 1894. In this year the United States adopted a new differential tariff which favored refined sugar produced by the American Refining Company and prohibited the importation of crude sugar produced by the Cuban industries. This would help to stifle the growth of the bourgeoisie through bankruptcy, and help them to mobilize the stricken masses into revolt against Spain as the apparent source of their troubles. In 1895 production reached 1,004,000 tons, but in the following year it had decreased to 225,000 tons (less than half the production of 1885) which was produced in the main by American interests. The Cuban bourgeoisie had received a hard blow economically, and was led on the battle-field by Marti in the Cuban revolution for the liberation of the colony from Spain. In this the bourgeoisie utilized the peasants, oppressed by Spanish feudalistic control, the agricultural and industrial proletariat of the sugar industry, all those who had been thrown out of work, and some strata of the petty-bourgeoisie.

THE PLATT AMENDMENT

On the basis of the economic policy of American imperialism, the Cuban revolution of "liberty" found a powerful "friend," and

while Marti was dying for his slogan of "A Republic with All and for All," Yankee imperialism was preparing its war skirmishes. The Maine affair and other secondary pretexts brought the United States marines and infantry troops to Santiago de Cuba, Havana, San Juan de Porto Rico, and to the Philippines. It was not necessary at that time to speak of "the property and lives of American citizens"; it was more convenient to say that they were fighting for the liberty of Cuba.

Spain was quickly defeated, especially due to the military intervention of the United States. Maximo Gomez, general of the Cuban army of liberation, received a "generous" pension and three million dollars to distribute among the revolutionary soldiers, on the condition that they would give up their arms to the United States representative. In 1901 the American Senate sent a communication to the Constituent Assembly, which was drawing up the constitution of "free Cuba," stating that the constitution was approved, but with an amendment proposed by Senator Platt of Connecticut. This amendment was to be made part of the Cuban constitution and considered as a permanent agreement. It states in part:

"That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the *protection of life, property, and individual liberty*, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States. . . ." (Emphasis mine. —R.G.)

Cuba was also prohibited from negotiating treaties and from contracting debts with powers that were not agreeable to the White House, and among other things, lands (Guantanamo) were ceded to the United States to establish coaling places and naval stations.

THE CUBAN BOURGEOISIE

This is a question which has always been difficult to answer. The Platt amendment and the antecedent bankruptcy of 1896 laid the basis to prevent the independent development of the Cuban bourgeoisie. But in spite of all this it fought bitterly to maintain a position in the country.

During the years of the European war, the development of the Cuban bourgeoisie was facilitated and it succeeded then in playing an important role in the country. Sugar became a problem for the United States, which could not be solved within the limits of its own frontiers. The United States was preparing for entrance into the world war and it was not possible to concentrate the forces of

its finance capital in all fields. It was necessary to make concessions to the Cuban bourgeoisie, which thus had the opportunity to develop itself.

Due to the condition of the sugar fields of Central Europe, the United States, entering the world war, was obliged to supply sugar to the Allies. Leland H. Jenks says in *Our Cuban Colony*: "Sugar must be controlled, if the war were to be won. And to control sugar, Cuba must be dealt with." (p. 189.)

This is not the only case of this nature which occurred during the European war. The colonial thesis of the Sixth Congress gives us other examples equally eloquent:

"Only under the pressure of special circumstances may the bourgeoisie of the imperialist States find itself compelled to co-operate in the development of big industry in the colonies. Thus, for example, requirements for preparation or conduct of war may, to a limited extent, lead to the creation of various enterprises in engineering and chemical industry in certain of the most strategically important colonies (e. g., India)." (*The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies*. Page 19.)

The sugar production of Cuba which represented ten per cent of the world production in 1908, increased to twenty-five per cent in 1918. In 1919 sugar production reached a total of four million tons.

It is certain that during this period, Yankee enterprises increased enormously, but parallel to them and of even more importance were the Cuban enterprises. The National Bank of Cuba reached assets of \$124,000,000, and other banks were developing which had great capital, such as the Spanish Bank of the Island of Cuba (\$105,000,000 of assets) and the International Bank. One can say that this period marked a revival of the Cuban bourgeoisie similar to that of 1890-1895. During the years 1917, 1918, 1919, and 1920, Cuba enjoyed the "Dance of the Millions," a famous period in which the Cuban bourgeoisie, overnight, found itself with a financial capital and a wealth with which it did not know what to do.

But this inflation was no more than a soap bubble. Yankee imperialism knew only too well how to end the "Dance of the Millions," and to trap the Cuban bourgeoisie—the dancers. Wall Street did not assist in the creation of refineries, and Cuban sugar was only semi-finished material which had to be finished in the United States. Most of the sugar that was consumed in Cuba was imported from the United States. Besides, imperialist business was much bigger than the Cuban bourgeoisie. The 1918-1919 harvest alone produced for the Sugar Equalization Board, established in

New York and headed by Herbert Hoover, a profit of forty-two million dollars.

Leland Jenks says that in addition to this we should take into consideration: “. . . four cents a pound upon 7,400,000 tons of sugar are to be added to the patriotic contribution secured by the United States from Cuba. With a pencil and pad the generous sum of \$600,000,000 may be readily computed as the cost to Cuba of sugar control.” (*Our Cuban Colony*, p. 204.)

The Cuban bourgeoisie was facing the same fate it had met in the last century. It was very young, and confronted by a great giant experienced in banditry and in looting. Wall Street inflated the price of sugar until it reached twenty-two and one-half cents a pound by the 19th of May, 1920; selling refined sugar in Cuba at the price of twenty-five cents a pound. This inflation produced a delirium among the Cuban bourgeoisie whose capital was concentrated in sugar. Millions and millions of dollars were invested in this industry, being withdrawn from coffee, fruit, other food production, and many other branches of industry.

Uncle Sam was laying his traps. Sugar was the cheese which attracted the Cuban bourgeoisie and the mouse was not hard to catch.

At the end of May, 1920, sugar prices began to lower; Wall Street made great purchases of Argentine sugar. European reconstruction had brought much sugar to the world market and if the price of sugar were to be lowered rapidly it would produce a financial catastrophe in Cuba. Argentine sugar in the New York market, which for Wall Street was as strange as the *gauchos*, helped produced the desired result. By December 13, 1920, sugar had fallen to three and three-fourths cents a pound.

Then a new method of attack was introduced. A tariff passed in April, 1921, established an increase from 1.0048 cents to 1.60 cents. During May, 1921, eighteen Cuban banks went into bankruptcy, involving one hundred and twenty-three branches. The bankruptcy of eight banks alone reached a total of one hundred and thirty million dollars. From about thirty banking institutions which existed before, only a handful were left.

The liquidation of the catastrophe was made by Rathbone, financial technician, and by Crowder, who were sent in the battleship *Minnesota*, with the purpose of completing the Wall Street plan by means of thirteen memoranda which made up the “financial policy of President Zayas.”

What remained of the Cuban bourgeoisie? The maneuver was a success for Yankee imperialism, by drawing Cuban industry more completely under its control, but the crippled Cuban bourgeoisie still remained.

The National City Bank of New York and the Royal Bank of Canada benefited more than the rest of the liquidators of the crisis. They opened branches throughout the country and made debtors of all the Cuban sugar mill owners. In 1921 alone, the National City Bank acquired fifty sugar mills.

The concentration of capital was accelerated at a dizzy rate. All small depositors of the banks were left penniless, the agricultural producers of the sugar industry (*colonos*) were ruined, and had to go into debt, mainly to the Yankee bank. Only the Cuban millionaires, some of the trading bourgeoisie and other feudal interests remained in a condition to face the situation. A great part of the Cuban capitalists became shareholders in the American companies.

The most important enterprises of Cuba belong to capital which is fundamentally American, although many Cubans who now participate as shareholders in these enterprises are at the same time representatives of the Cuban bourgeoisie. These own some big properties in the cities and some industries. Machado, for example, is the owner of paint factories, building enterprises, etc. But all are intimately linked up with the imperialist interests. Machado is also a shareholder in the Cuban Electric Company, a branch of General Electric; Tarafa is connected with the National City Bank interests; Menocal and Mendieta also have intimate connections with the United States sugar companies; the same can be said of Arrechabala, Gomez Mena, Blanco Herrera, Crusellas, Bacardi, and other Cuban millionaires and bourgeois figures.

In addition to this we must remember that Cuban landlords, although in a relatively weak position, are a factor of importance, and still own coffee, tobacco and some fruit plantations.

IS WALL STREET AGAINST YANKEE IMPERIALISM?

During the administration of Zayas, Senator Fordney proposed a higher tariff against Cuban sugar. The result of various discussions between American cane and beet sugar representatives, and Cuban sugar owners, was that the tariff established a rate of 1.84 cents against Cuban sugar, the highest tariff since 1890. It would be veritably childish to think that Wall Street was damaged through this tariff which affected eighty per cent of the capital invested in sugar, which is American. To think this, would be like believing that Wall Street could be against Yankee imperialism.

But we should solve this enigma. The profit of the Cuban sugar industry is created by the surplus value produced by the Cuban workers. An increase of tariff corresponds with a decrease in wages. In 1918 the agricultural workers of the sugar plantations got a

daily wage of five dollars. In 1927 the wage was eighty cents per day; in 1928, the workers got only sixty cents; in 1929, fifty cents; in 1930, only forty cents, and it is to be expected that in the next year (1931) they will get thirty cents or less. The most violent methods of rationalization are employed in the sugar mills and throughout the sugar industry to lower the cost of production to the minimum. In reality the Fordney tariff is paid by the Cuban workers with their misery, their unemployment, their starvation, through this rationalization.

The National City Bank of New York and its subsidiary sugar interests were not the ones to pay the Fordney tariff.

We can ask against whom this barbarous tariff was aimed. Principally, the interests injured by the Fordney tariff are those of the Cuban bourgeoisie; those Cubans who are without their own financial capital and who face American imperialism as an only "protector," cannot overcome all the disadvantages.

But more than this; the Royal Bank of Canada has great interests in the sugar industry. In 1927 this banking firm, which is the principal exponent of Canadian imperialism, had sixty-four branches in Cuba. It is true that the volume of business of this bank in Cuba increased from that date to this, but now it has only forty-four branches, having lost twenty branches in three years. This means that the Canadian sugar interests suffer from the tariff by reason of their weakness in the face of American competition.

Furthermore, the real consequence of the tariff is that it creates a basis in Cuba for a situation in which American interests can grow at the expense of the Cuban and Canadian loss.

The tariff is also, and this is a main point, a way to strengthen the internal production of sugar in the United States. American financial capital prefers to develop sugar manufacture in the United States, rather than in Cuba. In the same way that a trust can close the doors of one of its factories and transfer production to others, imperialism is able to protect the production of the United States sugar beet producers, although this may mean the closing of some of its sugar cane mills in Cuba.

The Fordney tariff is a weapon with several blades: 1. To protect the development of the sugar industry in the United States; 2. To prevent any possibility of the further rise of the Cuban bourgeoisie, and to transform it more and more into an appendage of the American trusts; 3. To help crush the foundation of Canadian investments; 4. To increase on the shoulders of the Cuban proletariat the most intense exploitation, brutally strangling it.

ANOTHER LONG ISLAND

Comrade Harrison George said in the last convention of the Communist Party of the United States: "Cuba is as much under the yoke of Yankee financial capitalism as if it were Long Island." The figures show this easily. According to an English estimate, the wealth of Cuba is eight billion dollars, comprising both productive and non-productive wealth. According to statistics of the State Department in Washington last month, the American capital invested in Cuba reaches a total of \$1,525,000,000. (To show this we could reproduce the Nearing-Freeman map in *Dollar Diplomacy*.)

The National City Bank of New York has fifty-two branches which dominate the economic activity of the country, mainly sugar. The Chase National Bank and the First National Bank of Boston also have branches. The capital invested in sugar amounts to eight hundred million dollars. The biggest fruit plantations belong to the United Fruit Company and the Atlantic Fruit Company. The tobacco trust is controlled by the Cuban Tobacco Company, an American concern. The electrical plants of the entire country, including that of Havana, belong to the Cuban Electric Company, child of the Electric Bond and Share Company, and grandchild of the General Electric Company. All foreign and domestic debts, which total two hundred million dollars, belong to Yankee shareholders, and are controlled by Wall Street. The telephone lines are the property of the Cuban Telephone Company, subsidiary of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company. The cable belongs to the Western Union and the Commercial Cable. Swift and Armour have great warehouses and some factories in Havana. The manganese, copper, gold, and iron mines, and also the oil fields are American owned. Hershey is a giant in the northeastern province of Havana. The Marianao Beach, the Sevilla Biltmore hotel, and the other places frequented by tourists, called "the second national Cuban industry," belong to American capitalists. Four newspapers with a big circulation are also American property. The Havana docks belong to the Port of Havana Dock, and those of the interior are also American.

Woolworth owns skyscrapers and shops in Havana. The United States controls the fertilizer factories. The Coca Cola Company also has large factories on the island. The manufacture of carbonic acid belongs to an American company. Warren Brothers and Purdy Henderson Company are the most important builders of public works. American factories also control the production of cement and the coal industry. The biggest slaughter houses of Havana belong to the Lykes firm. On the Isle of Pines, Yankee

investments total \$17,000,000. Many American "drys" have interests in the Cuban Distilling Company and in the Polar Beer factory. Among his other interests in Cuba, Rockefeller is part owner of the Distilling Company. Yankee finance capital also owns the railroads of the eastern part of Cuba, many western branches, and all those railroads which belong to the sugar industry.

Figures from the *Commerce Year Book* for 1929 show the approximate distribution of American investments:

Sugar industry	\$800,000,000
Real estate	150,000,000
Railroads	120,000,000
Government bonds	110,000,000
Public utilities	110,000,000
Industries	50,000,000
Tobacco	50,000,000
Commercial	40,000,000
Mines	35,000,000
Banks	25,000,000
Miscellaneous	15,000,000
Total	\$1,505,000,000

ARE CANADA AND GREAT BRITAIN INACTIVE?

But, in spite of the predomination of Yankee capital, Canada and Great Britain have great investments. In 1927, the capital of the United Railways of Havana reached a total of fifty million dollars. It was England which built this railroad, beginning in 1837, and English capital had great influence until before the European war, but one of Crowder's maneuvers in his diplomatic voyage of 1921 was to demand the organization of the Consolidated Railroads, a United States company, in which all the new railroad companies, which were to be organized, should be combined. This maneuver was directed against the United Railroads of Havana, to keep them from developing and to put them in an unfavorable situation in comparison with the United States trust, which is controlled by the National City Bank of New York.

The Yankee capitalists hope to give a death blow to the United Railways of Havana, through the opening of the central highway which would establish competition. But English capital is not to be defeated without a fight. In 1923 a great campaign against the Consolidated Railroads was begun by means of the "Nationalist" press (*El Heraldo*). Now Cosme de la Torriente speaks of the desirability of the League of Nations taking Cuba under its wing,

and the Cuban "Nationalists" are buying arms in England to fight Machado.

Canada has the Royal Bank of Canada, the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the Bank of Nova Scotia, all of which have big interests in Cuba. Principally the Royal Bank of Canada has many interests in the sugar industry.

The full amount of British investments, including Canada and the United Kingdom, were \$237,801,000 in 1929 (Max Winkler, *United States Investments in Latin America*.)

WHAT DO THE CUBANS OWN?

It is a popular saying that the Cubans have only their national anthem and their flag. But through a coincidence of historical significance the flag also was imported from the United States by the adventurer Narciso Lopez.*

The Cuban capitalists are being transformed into shareholders in the branches of the Yankee trusts; the few large sugar land-owners that still exist, are threatened by extermination under the yoke of U. S. finance capitalism. Only in the fields of fruit, vegetable, coffee, and tobacco production, are interests under the Cuban landlord class. In general among the petty bourgeoisie the lawyer is an employee of the legal departments of Yankee business, the engineer is an employee of Yankee construction companies, and the doctor gets his fees from big Spanish societies intimately allied with Yankee capital. The rest of the strata of the petty bourgeoisie consist in the main of the government bureaucrats and those employed by American companies.

The rich farmer and the middle farmer, mostly allied with the sugar industry—colonos—are gradually disappearing under the pressure of financial capital. Only in those agricultural sections not closely connected with the sugar industry—coffee, vegetables, etc.—exist a few large and middle farmers who have a chance of living.

Lower in the social scale is the more numerous group of poor farmers, enslaved, existing in the poorer regions, principally in the coffee, food and tobacco production zones.

Finally comes the proletariat, which constitutes the largest group of the population and upon which is put the burden of the heavy scaffolding of the Yankee colonial regime.

The 1919 census (page 377) divided the population of wage earners in the following way:

*Narciso Lopez was a Spanish adventurer in the service of the Southern slaveholders. In 1845 he made two invasions with the purpose of annexing Cuba, to give the U. S. one more slaveholding state.

<i>Occupations, by groups</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Farmers, fishermen and miners	462,471	48.7
Servants	115,902	12.1
Workers in industry and mechanical arts	189,880	20.0
Commerce and transportation	147,854	15.6
Professionals	33,614	3.6
Total	948,821	100.0

These statistics can give us an approximation of the distribution of the working population, because the 1921 crisis stopped the growth of the Cuban sugar industry and some secondary industries. In any case the new statistics will give us a new item of increasing importance in the population—the unemployed, now estimated to be about 500,000.

Of the agricultural workers which are included under farmers, fishermen and miners, not less than 200,000 are workers on the sugar plantations. The workers in the industries and mechanical arts are industrial proletarians. Among the “servants” are included the food workers. Under the heading “Commerce and transportation” are included no less than 50,000 railroad workers, and almost 5,000 street car workers. Of 3,500,000 inhabitants the total agricultural and industrial proletariat and unemployed number 800,000.

This is the legacy left by the maneuvers of Yankee imperialism. Neither on the basis of the preferential tariff of 1890, or of the European war policy of American imperialism, could the national industry grow, but instead a semi-developed industrialization took place which transformed the country into one of proletarians and semi-proletarians but not of a truly industrialized type. Nevertheless imperialism is creating in the workers of Cuba its own undertakers. “The new capitalist forms of exploitation bring into the arena a genuine revolutionary force—the proletariat. . . .” (The Colonial Thesis of the Sixth Congress. Page 20).

THE CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTION

It would be wrong to think that there are no democratic bourgeois tasks for the revolutionary movement in Cuba.

In spite of the Cuban bourgeoisie being an appendage of imperialism, it will continue to fight. The “protective” tariff introduced by Machado is a proof of this. It is true that the tariff did not help the development of national industry and has only resulted in some American firms establishing factories in Cuba, but it represents an attempt to struggle. The attempt to protect coffee production through a tariff, tending to develop coffee production on a scale

which will prevent importation of this product, is another phase of the same national policy.

The same thing may be said about the commercial bourgeoisie. Despite the fact that this is the group most allied to imperialism, it resisted the onslaughts of the 1921 crisis and sustained its bank.

In the course of imperialist penetration into Cuba, there develops increased subjugation of the bourgeoisie because the bourgeoisie does not have its own financial capital and consequently cannot adequately defend itself. The bankruptcy this year of the Commercial Bank and of other smaller banks which survived the crisis of 1921, the bankruptcy of many commercial houses and Cuban industries, and the constant advance of all the interests under the control of the National City Bank, demonstrate the forces facing the Cuban bourgeoisie.

In spite of this, the national tasks of the democratic-bourgeois revolution will not be carried out by the Cuban bourgeoisie. The Cuban bourgeoisie, like those of other colonial countries, learned a lesson from the Chinese revolution, the danger of pushing the armed struggle of the masses against imperialism. Any attempt of the bourgeoisie to encourage the struggle of the masses will run the danger of resulting in its own destruction.

If imperialism supports Machado to the end, it is because it fears that a change of regime will be the basis for great complications in the future exploitation of Cuba.

Also, for similar reasons, the "Nationalists" still maintain a vacillating and undecided attitude. The "Nationalists" will possibly utilize the revolution as a means in their attempt to get power, but they know that revolution is a dangerous weapon capable of turning against them. The method that the Nationalists will utilize depends upon future happenings in Cuba. Only in the face of a revolutionary upsurge, in the face of the impossibility of getting power "peacefully," will the Nationalists be in the foreground of the revolutionary movement which will be mainly led by the masses. The Nationalists will be the lightning rod which imperialism will use in order to protect itself from the effects of the coming proletarian storm.

It is for these reasons that the tasks of the national fight for liberation in Cuba will be brought to an end only by the armed struggle of the proletariat, with the help of the farmers and the petty bourgeoisie.

In Cuba, as in any colonial country, the farmers will play an important role, and will be a valuable ally of the proletariat. Not to understand this would be dangerous and non-Leninist. In many

parts of the country, only through the achievement of democratic slogans which lead the farmers to get land will they obtain emancipation from the yoke of imperialism and from the landlords.

But the proletariat will play the leading role. The beginning of the revolution should draw the agricultural and industrial proletarians closer on the barricades; without doubt they will be the basis and the mainstay of the struggle. If we do not link the slogans of national liberation with the turning over of the factories to the workers, the revolution will be a failure. Without the national emancipation of Cuba, the liberation of the proletariat is not possible, but the national emancipation will not be achieved if the proletariat does not get hegemony and establish a workers' and farmers' government.

The transition from the democratic dictatorship of workers and farmers to a proletarian dictatorship will take place very quickly. It is true that the struggle for national liberation and the other agrarian tasks mean fundamentally, democratic achievements, and find their expression in the democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers. But we should not forget that the most important part of the population is proletarian and through proletarian slogans it must be brought into the struggle for national liberation. The interrelations of the democratic-bourgeois and proletarian tasks facilitates greatly the transition of the democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers to the proletarian dictatorship.

But the Cuban revolution contains an especially important factor, a factor peculiar to a country of the production of semi-raw material, that is, a kind of "non-industrialized" proletariat without an adequate industrial or agricultural base for self-support.¹ The semi-industrial proletariat, united with the agricultural proletariat, should confiscate the factories and the plantations in order to run them under their control. Production on the plantations can be turned to supplying food for the population. Land should be distributed to the farmers who till the soil, and part of the agricultural proletariat will undoubtedly demand and have the right to take land, to help create at once the agrarian basis upon which to produce fruit, grain,

* It is possible to see how American capital develops raw material production at the same time that it heads off industrialization by the following statistics on exports of tobacco and cigars:

	1913	1925	1926	1927
Tobacco, manufactured, 1,000 pounds	30,245	33,628	40,642	40,130
Cigars, thousands	184,942	108,722	87,940	90,864

Tobacco factories have been built in United States (Florida) at the same time that factories are being closed in Cuba.

and other immediate necessities, in order to make the country self-sustaining. Great efforts will be necessary to achieve these tasks, whose achievement is of as vital importance as is the defense against imperialism. Of special importance in this connection will be such concrete aid as seed, agricultural equipment, and the like from the proletariat of the United States and other countries.

It is also necessary to emphasize that the Cuban revolution is a part of the Latin American colonial revolution, that it will have important repercussions among the other countries, helping to break the whole colonial regime in South America, and that it will facilitate the fight of the masses throughout Latin America, pointing out to them the way to overcome imperialism and its national tools.

In these moments the following lines of the colonial thesis will be both valuable and necessary to apply: “. . . the possibility of a non-capitalist path of development for the backward colonies, the possibility of the growing-over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the leading colonies into the proletarian socialist revolution with the aid of the victorious proletarian dictatorship in the other countries.” (*The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies*, Page 8.) In spite of the fact that Cuba is not in some ways a backward colony, for there has been a capitalist development under imperialist control, still in order for the successful carrying out of the transition to the socialist revolution a similar leadership and help must be given to it.

Only through a realization of the tasks contained in the above paragraph of the thesis, linked with the other internal tasks—with the help of Soviet Russia, can the proletarian revolution resist the barbarous attack which it will suffer from its beginning.

It is necessary to take into account the great importance of the proletariat of the United States. Cuba is a colonial country and its liberation cannot be a reality until it receives the solid support of the American proletariat. Concrete aid and mass struggles will be necessary on the part of the workers of the United States to support the Cuban revolution. We cannot forget that the colonial revolution is a part of the world proletarian revolution and that the oppressed masses of Cuba are allied with the American workers in the struggle against Yankee finance capital.

THE CHADBOURNE PLAN

This plan represents for the oppressed masses of Cuba the same thing as the Young plan for the German proletariat, in the sense that it is a halter to be put on them by finance capital. The Chadbourne Plan is an imperialist “solution” which Wall Street seeks for the terrible economic crisis in Cuba. Cuba is a country based on one

industry, sugar, and since 1921 the post-war crisis has affected it terribly, as was explained above. With the breaking down of the partial stabilization of post-war capitalism and as a consequence of the United States crisis, the Cuban crisis has reached a climax in depth and in severity. The barometer which shows the development of the crisis, sugar, is now around one cent a pound, the lowest price in history.

Chadbourne proposes as a solution an agreement between beet and cane sugar producers that will be the basis for an international agreement, in process of formation, in which they want to combine with the producers of Cuba those in Java and Central Europe. The purpose of this agreement is to restrict production on a world scale as a basis for the restriction of Cuban production, to raise the price of sugar, and on this basis bring back "prosperity" to Cuba. On a national scale the Cuban government should buy 1½ million tons of sugar through special bonds which will be issued, supported and controlled by Yankee finance capital; so that the price of sugar can be sustained by taking off the market this remnant of overproduction of the last crop; the Cuban government is also to order the restriction of the next crop from 4,700,000 tons which is the estimate, to 3,700,000 tons; also finances are to be reorganized through the establishment of one tax instead of the others, and through a loan which was originally to be \$42,000,000, and which they now want to increase to \$300,000,000,—\$20,000,000 of the amount has already been sent to Cuba.

In the first place the international agreement, (which Chadbourne says is a "test of capitalism" at this time of antagonism between communism and capitalism) has never had a solid basis of support and less now, with the growing antagonisms between the different capitalist powers.

In the second place, the plan means new loans, which will be new public debts, and an increase through "reorganization" of the taxes imposed on the masses. The restriction of production by more than one-fifth means the stoppage of many sugar mills and rationalization in the others, low wages for the workers, especially the agricultural workers, and the brutal increase of unemployment. This is a sharpening of the Fordney attack on Cuba. In synthesis, the plan means: 1. This is another attack against the Cuban bourgeoisie as well as a covered attack against the English and Canadian investments; (2) the growth of economic oppression, of the workers and other classes exploited by imperialism, to the highest degree—placing on their shoulders the entire weight of the crisis. This is a blind alley. The Cuban proletariat and the other classes

oppressed by imperialism will pay with their blood the profits wrung from them by Yankee finance capital. And if before the crisis of imperialism, exploitation was very sharp, initiating a regime of oppression and hunger, of which the regime of Machado was an exponent and an example, during the course of the crisis which has a perspective of sharpening and deepening, the methods of oppression will increase in barbarity.

The recompense given by Wall Street to the Cuban masses for the work under which they are bowed, is starvation wages, unemployment, and political oppression, today administered by Machado and tomorrow administered by the Nationalists, or another tool of imperialism.

WHAT THE "NATIONALIST" MOVEMENT MEANS

There is in Cuba a Nationalist Party that is fighting Machado, upon a basis of the restoration of the liberty of the press, liberty of thought and of speech, and other similar slogans.

This party was in the beginning an organization that represented some strata of the petty bourgeoisie—the disappearing sugar farmers (colonos) and strata of the cities—under the leadership of bourgeois politicians. In the development of the Cuban situation during the last few years, the Nationalist party became more and more reactionary and in many instances has tried to bring about intervention by the United States as a method of putting itself in power. Oscar Seigle and some other representatives of the Nationalists have been around the White House trying to get its support. Up to the present the imperialists support Machado, afraid to face a revolution. At the same time, the Nationalists are buying arms in England as well as in the United States.

The Nationalists represent the discontent of some strata of the bourgeoisie, an attempt to organize an outlet for the discontent among the masses, and mainly the discontent of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Nationalists are the expression of the instability of the Cuban situation, and the party's presence is for the purpose of "resolving" the situation for the imperialists. This is the reason why the United States government never was an enemy of the Nationalists, and why also the Nationalists, through Oscar Seigle, sent its message of agreement to Chadbourne's arrangements.

It is true that among the Nationalists there is some bourgeois discontent with the imperialists, but none of them try to overcome the imperialist regime as a whole or wish to fight it. The nationalists want only to be the new managers of the Yankee Colony.

A couple of weeks ago the Nationalists recruited some other bourgeois forces. Menocal and Zayas, both former presidents and tools of American imperialism, together with Cosme de la Torriente, a former president of the League of Nations, joined its ranks.

All of these facts make it clear that the composition of this Cuban clique is similar to the South American cliques which have been taking power recently. The Nationalists just as the Brazilian, the Peruvian, the Argentinian, and the Bolivian forces, represent a movement of fascization, of persecution and oppression for the masses.

They can make a revolt but only because of the pressure of the masses. If they get the support of the masses, it is not because the masses can trust in them, but because they stand in a position where they are in the way of the expression of this discontent.

As the Nationalists say, they are in agreement with the Chadbourne plan and as a consequence they will carry it out if they get power, as good tools of American Imperialism.

FORWARD TO A REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION

The workers of Cuba have made great gains in the revolutionary struggle. It was the masses of cigar makers who paid with their wages for the arms of the revolution in the last century, the arms which were sold by Maximo Gomez. In 1902 when the republic was started the Havana streets were red with blood through the struggles of the workers against the Palma regime. The general strikes of the second Yankee intervention (1906) shook the government of Magoon. The general strikes of 1920 and the following years mobilized all sections of the proletariat in answer to the first attacks of the post-war imperialist offensive. The general strike of the workers of the sugar mills and plantations in 1925 made the base of the imperialist regime tremble, and the railroad workers' strike in 1926 could only be defeated by a bloody terror. All these traditions constitute a legacy of experience for the proletariat which will serve well in its future struggles.

Now, in the course of a new revolutionary wave, the proletariat has shown that it knows how to benefit from past experience. The bloody fight in Havana streets December 14, 1929, the political strike of January 10th, the general strike of March 20th against unemployment and against the persecution of the trade unions, in which 200,000 workers participated, the demonstrations of May 1st, and the hundreds of strikes developing in the course of this year, all these heroic struggles led by the National Workers Federation of Cuba and by the Communist Party are the first skirmishes of the future revolutionary battle.

The farmers have defended their lands arms in hand in the eastern region and the students fight daily battles in the streets of the important cities.

All these struggles can culminate victoriously only in the revolutionary action of the proletariat, in alliance with the farmers and the petty bourgeoisie in the fight for the defeat of imperialism and for the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government.



Letter of the Central Committee of the CP USA to the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba

November 6, 1930.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA.

Dear Comrades:

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. has been following with deepest interest the recent developments in Cuba.

In the desire to be of what help we can to the Cuban Party, which has always bravely confronted enormous difficulties, we wish to lay before you our opinions upon the tasks now facing the Cuban proletariat and its Party, the Communist Party of Cuba. In doing so, the C.P.U.S.A. by no means intends to substitute for the directives of the C.I., but only to give what assistance our opinions may be to you in concretizing the C.I. directives, and to carry out the tasks of fraternal counsel which are the duty of one brother Party to another.

This letter, therefore, is not a thesis or directive, but merely observations and practical suggestions for your consideration.

The situation in Cuba up until about last April was one of a continually intensified economic crisis. During this period (in fact since its existence), the Communist Party of Cuba, despite all difficulties, and despite all its weaknesses, maintained itself in the vanguard of the class struggle, understood its general tasks, and firmly carried them out to the best of its ability.

The period since April has been marked by the unfolding of a political crisis, upon the basis of the further intensified economic crisis and tremendous growth of mass discontent. The signs of this beginning of political crisis were armed clashes between the government forces and the Nationalists, outlawing of the revolutionary trade unions, the growing militancy of the proletariat seen in the collision of May First.

In the past weeks the political crisis has been maturing rapidly. The fierce attacks upon the Communists, the whole series of maneuvers between Machado and the Nationalists, the anxiety of American imperialism, the entrance into opposition against the Machado gov-

ernment of Zayas, Menocal and de la Torriente (the latter evidently in the role of representative of British imperialism), the secret arming of Nationalists by British interests (of which we are informed by Cubans in France), the repercussion in Cuba of the revolts in South America—all these things are signs of and factors in the speeding up of the development of the political crisis.

Unfortunately, with the extreme sharpening of the political situation, the Communist Party of Cuba has been unable to keep pace with the march of events as closely as it had in the past.

It is well understood that in great measure this lagging behind is due to the whole series of circumstances surrounding the Communist Party of Cuba for which it is not responsible, but the essential fact remains that this lagging behind is the result of insufficient bolshevization of the entire Party, instability of leadership resulting not only from the savage persecutions of the government, but also from the lack of trained comrades to replace those leaders who have been eliminated by the fascist terror.

The situation is, therefore, that with a well developed political crisis, the Communist Party of Cuba finds itself weakened in its abilities to give direction to the mass movement, as compared with last spring.

The chief feature of this weakness of the Communist Party of Cuba, that weakness upon which we believe most attention must be concentrated at this moment, is the underestimation of the importance of the simple, immediate, partial, concrete demands which are necessary as the basis of a successful mass movement, as a pre-requisite to the mass political strikes which are mobilization movements preceding armed rising. It is impossible for the Party to successfully lead the masses into broader, more highly political struggles (general strike, armed rising) unless it takes as its starting point and basis the development of local and partial struggles for immediate and adequate relief to the starving unemployed, for food and shelter to the poor and homeless at the expense of the rich and their government, demands for more wages and shorter hours for those workers who are employed, demands of the poor peasantry against evictions, against taxes and against the imperialist land grabbers.

The first occasion upon which we took note of this weakness of the Communist Party of Cuba, that weakness of launching slogans of broad political struggle without developing the immediate mass fights for partial demands as a basis, was last Spring when on the occasion of the government decrees outlawing the Havana Labor Federation and the National Confederation, our Cuban comrades

put forth the slogan of the "permanent general strike" to begin in April (Report of the C.P.C., March 29, 1930), which was to continue "until the withdrawal of the decrees."

The Communist Party of Cuba failed at that time to fully understand the fact that although 200,000 workers had answered its call to strike on March 20th, this was only because the March 20th movement was for the masses a struggle for bread for the unemployed. For the masses the question of legality of the trade unions did not represent that burning, immediate issue of daily life which the most backward workers could understand. The question was, for the masses, too removed and abstract to move them to immediately engage in mass struggle. This was all the more true because most of these 200,000 workers were entirely unorganized. Thus, the attempt to develop a general strike in April solely upon the demand for legality of the trade unions, leaving out the elemental needs of the starving masses, was foredoomed to failure.

At that time (April) our fraternal representative in a memorandum left with the Central Committee, correctly described the slogan of "permanent general strike" as "a slogan which signified armed insurrection without any of the necessary preparations . . . a confused effort to leap over all the immediate tasks, hard and difficult, of a real preparation, and to 'solve' the problem by a badly prepared putsch."

We do not leave out of sight the fact that the Communist Party of Cuba, since April, has withstood with great heroism the savage and brutal attacks of the fascist Machado government, and that in such actions as the demonstrations on the Havana docks its membership has shown a spirit of struggle equal to any brother Party of the C.I. But at the same time, we must doubly emphasize the fact that these actions in the period since April were entirely insufficient as a preparation for another general strike action, this time consciously intended to develop into an armed rising and a struggle for power. The slogans and demands which have been raised are quite insufficient. The slogan, "Machado, Resign!" in the recent student action is indistinguishable from the slogans of the Nationalists, while the action itself was too isolated and not connected with the masses.

The demands raised by the delegation of 45 "workers' collectivities" (1. release of prisoners; 2. legality of trade unions; 3. free speech and assemblage) did not concretely put forth the burning needs of the starving masses for bread, and were not accompanied by organization of mass struggle throughout the country for the satisfaction of the elementary pressing needs of the masses.

These weaknesses are an attempt to jump over the tasks of mass preparation, or mass mobilization, which are the necessary pre-conditions

tions of a successful political struggle. As a result we judge that the mistake of the April attempt has been repeated in a slightly altered form. In April it was the formation of a united front in the "Comite Conjunto" which resulted under the guise of "united action" in surrendering leadership to the social fascist trade union leaders—who promptly sabotaged all action; while at present, the "united front against Machado" fell into the hands of those same traitors who have turned it into a united front with Machado against the Communists, (we refer to the promise, given to Machado by the trade union leaders, reported in the New York press to "eliminate bolshevist agitation from the Island").

Without going into a detailed analysis of the present political situation, it appears to us that the Nationalists are fearful of the Cuban proletariat; while smarting under the provocations of Machado, and encouraged by British interests who are furnishing them with arms, they still wish, before launching their open fight to overthrow Machado, to secure themselves against the tremendous influence which the Communist Party of Cuba has over the Cuban proletariat. They still fear that this influence, even though it remains unorganized, will be thrown against them and may prove a decisive factor. It is a fact that the advanced section of the city proletariat is distrustful of the Nationalists, and this shows that the general line of the Communist Party of Cuba of exposing the imperialist connections of the Nationalist leaders has been correct.

The reported attempts of subordinate Nationalist leaders to come to "some understanding" with the Communists, demands a careful examination of the attitude of the Communist Party of Cuba and the working class toward the approaching nationalist rising.

In our opinion, with Mendieta openly declaring that the Nationalists would not lead, but would only follow the masses, the action of the 45 "workers' collectivities" in placing purely general and abstract political demands before Machado, on October 20th would have, if the social fascist trade union leaders had not, as they did, gone completely over to Machado (the immediate, practical effect of their actions—in spite of their Nationalist leanings), resulted in a general strike and armed rising wherein the proletariat would have shed its blood to overthrow Machado only in order that the Nationalist traitors might step into governmental power easily by formally conceding these demands for the moment, until they could consolidate themselves strongly enough to defy the workers.

The Communist Party of Cuba must carefully distinguish the contradiction in aims and interests between the masses that may follow the Nationalist leaders and the aims and interests of these

leaders, differences which these leaders will seek to conceal behind abstract phrases of "liberty" and "democracy." The C.P.C. must not only see these differences, but expose them to the fullest extent, and attract the Nationalist masses to its own banner as the leader of struggle for the real interests of the masses.

The possibility still remains that the Nationalists may begin an armed rising and may seek, with or without giving any promises in return, to gain the support of the workers who are under the leadership of the Communist Party in this rising, or to stimulate a simultaneous rising by the revolutionary workers. In this situation it would be the gravest mistake to make the actions of the revolutionary workers and the Communist Party of Cuba dependent upon the action of the Nationalists. Especially must our actions, independent of the Nationalists, clearly differentiate themselves in demands and immediate aims of the struggle from the Nationalist rising.

Further, it would be a suicidal mistake at this moment for the Communist Party of Cuba, without preparation of the proletariat, depending only on spontaneous action of the masses, without serious organizational work among the masses, and without beginnings of the most serious armed struggles between the Nationalists and Machado, to attempt at once with its own few forces to begin an armed rising. It would be purely a "putsch."

If, however, the Nationalists open the armed struggle, neither the proletariat nor the Communist Party of Cuba can be "neutral." It must, however, be absolutely proletarian and independent. All promises of the Nationalist leadership must be looked upon as absolutely worthless, as consciously deceitful. This must never be forgotten, even though the Nationalists, to attain their own ends, freely arm the masses. In such cases the arms must of course be accepted —*but never surrendered*, and used solely for the ends of the toiling masses against both Machado and the Nationalists. The Communist Party must energetically penetrate the masses with its own slogans and demands; expressing the immediate needs of these masses, it must mobilize and organize them for struggle to realize these immediate demands. These demands must be expressed very concretely, for bread, for land, linking up these demands with the broader slogans of genuine anti-imperialist nationalist revolution (division of the big landed estates among the peasants; confiscation of enterprises owned by the imperialists; repudiation of debts; establishment of soviets; the eight-hour day; overthrow of all agents of imperialist domination). These slogans and the organization of the masses around them for struggle (in Committees of Struggle, Armed Workers' Corps, and possibly small armed guerilla groups around and out of which a Worker and Peasant Army may be developed),

must be carried into these masses which may follow the nationalist revolt, accompanied by simultaneous exposure of the intended surrender to and connections with imperialism of the Nationalist leadership.

The Communist Party of Cuba must seize every advantage offered by the disintegration of the Machado government and the weakness of the Nationalists (it must be active in both camps in case revolt divides the territory) to raise persistently and concretely the immediate demands of the masses. It must definitely organize these masses, beginning in the most simple rank and file strike committees or action committees, embracing not only revolutionary trade unionists, but also the unorganized workers and the workers in the reformist unions; in committees of struggle and armed workers' corps, wherever and whenever the struggle assumes a real political form. The mass struggle must be developed from the basic and elementary struggle for bread into the final struggle for power which is the climax of the movement and not its beginning. Naturally, when such a climax is reached, the voice of the Cuban proletariat and its Party must summon the oppressed toilers of all the Latin Americas to prove true to their class and to real national liberation by solidarity and material support of every possible kind, Cuba raising the slogan of a Soviet Federation of Workers and Peasant Governments of Latin America.

Finally, whatever form the next events may take, whether Machado retains power, or whether the Nationalists begin armed revolt, or even if the Nationalists succeed in a sudden *coup d'etat*—in any and all cases, the policy of the Communist Party of Cuba must be based upon stubborn, persistent daily work among the masses around the partial demands which express the every-day life needs of the workers and peasants.

The Communist Party of Cuba must turn to mass work, which means work among the masses and with the masses by every Communist. Mass work does not mean maneuvers at the top with social fascist leaders in the mistaken idea that these traitors will set the masses in motion, while the Communist Party remains invisible. Your own experience proves that the social role of reformist leaders is to prevent mass action not to incite it, and that the supposed invisibility of the Party in such maneuvers may make the Party invisible to the workers but not to the police.

The necessity to raise sharply in the foreground the immediate demands of the masses requires a change from the present practice of raising as the leading and almost the only slogans those general and abstract ones, (Machado's resignation, legality of trade unions, free speech), and instead to place in the foreground, and concentrate

upon immediate relief for the starving unemployed—food, clothing and shelter at the expense of the rich and the government; increase of wages and shortening of hours; resistance against evictions by unemployed and by the poor peasants; compensation for the lands already seized by the imperialist agents, and so on.

The struggle for the legality of the trade unions must be brought to the foreground. Legality of the trade unions cannot be won by appealing to Machado but only by appealing to the masses. The struggle for legality of the trade unions must be put in the form of the struggle of the trade unions for the immediate demands of the masses.

The struggle for free speech must likewise be developed, but to call upon the masses to struggle for free speech in the abstract at a moment when the masses are starving will leave them cold and not start them into action.

The raising of demands only for these democratic rights without making them merely a part of the struggle for bread has the effect of blurring the differences between the Communists and the Nationalists. It is our task to most sharply emphasize these differences.

To sum up, it is only by the sharp turning of the entire Party membership to the tasks of mass work upon concrete immediate and partial demands that the Communist Party of Cuba can win for itself firmly established leadership of the masses by means of which it can advance at the head of the working class, with the support of the peasants, to the final struggle for power.

This transformation of the daily work of the Communist Party of Cuba naturally calls for a simultaneous transformation of the organizational work. The immediate burning necessity for the Communist Party of Cuba is to bring into its ranks large new sections of the most active and devoted workers, those who took part in the March 20th movement, and with most of whom the Communist Party of Cuba does not have daily organized contact.

The Communist Party of Cuba must broaden its ranks in order to be able to carry through the tremendous tasks now facing it. It must build its nuclei among the workers in the shops. All remnants of the old theories of maneuvering with the masses and leading them from the top must be liquidated, and instead the entire Party must be turned towards the organization of the masses, and the Party itself must become a mass organization. The attraction into the Party of trade union officials and other individuals strategically situated is not in itself wrong. Only this must never be considered as a substitute for recruitment of the rank and file in ever greater numbers.

The situation is most favorable, both for the recruitment of

large numbers of energetic and devoted revolutionary workers into the Party and for rebuilding the revolutionary trade unions on a much broader mass basis.

We must tell the masses that the revolutionary trade unions have refused to be dissolved, and that they are still alive, and show the masses that the revolutionary trade unions are now engaged in organizing their daily struggle. The rebuilding of the revolutionary trade unions on the basis of shop committees is fully as essential to the firm revolutionary advance as the building of the Party on a mass basis and its energetic turn towards mass work. Both tasks must be carried through together.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. will energetically carry on a campaign of enlightenment of the workers of our country on the problems of the revolutionary workers of Cuba and for support of their struggles. We will even more energetically mobilize the American workers against the murderous American imperialism which is our common oppressor. Your struggle and our struggle in the United States are intimately linked up together. Our small material support which we have been able to give to your fight, which is of course entirely inadequate, we will make every attempt to increase. We will give all assistance which we can possibly organize here for the return of revolutionary Cuban immigrants who desire to go back and help in your struggle.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. in all cases where it authorizes members of our Party to go to Cuba, of course transfers all authority over such comrades to the Communist Party of Cuba. The C.P.U.S.A. does not send any plenipotentiaries to exercise any authority whatever over the Communist Party of Cuba. The comrades who come from our Party to you are completely under the direction of the Communist Party of Cuba, unless they carry special credentials which define their special commission. While the comrades coming to Cuba from the United States are given full opportunity to learn all of the opinions of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. regarding the Cuban situation and we hope that they, upon arrival in Cuba, will reflect these opinions, it is for the Communist Party of Cuba to accept or reject or modify them in the light of their own understanding of the tasks facing them.

We speak of these things to avoid any misunderstanding and to prevent any suspicion arising in the minds of any comrades in Cuba that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. wishes in any way to exercise any authority over the Communist Party of Cuba, except the authority of the revolutionary logic that is contained in the views we express to you.

With Communist greetings,

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF U.S.A.

Soviets in China

By L. MAGYAR

(Translated from Russian by Comrade DAVIS from "Bolshevik," No. 18, September, 1930.)

"GRAVEST peril menaces our civilization. Millions of peasants revolt in southern China. More than once have peasant uprisings taken place in the history of China. Now, however, the revolting peasants proclaim themselves Bolsheviks. Herein lies this gravest peril menacing our civilization."

Thus the eminent British publicist Burt estimates the situation in China, in the pages of the quite respectable and conservative magazine *Asiatic Review*. Peasants have rebelled more than once in China against the landlord, the usurer, the gentry, and the greedy merchant; against taxes, hunger, want and poverty. Peasant uprisings have overthrown the Chang, Tuan, Sun and Ming dynasties. Foreign troops have already drowned in blood a number of peasant uprisings. Only intervention put down the Tai-ping uprising. It took the imperialists to crush the Boxer uprising. Only with imperialist aid could the Kuomintang suppress the peasant revolution in Hunan, Hupei and Kwantung in 1925-27. But now the peasantry proclaims itself Bolshevik. Therefore, the British conservative considers "civilization" in danger. And, insofar as this "civilization" is represented by imperialist oppression, by colonial plunder, by the land-baron, the mortgagee, the militarist, the tax-collector and the gentry; insofar as this "civilization" means perishing millions, ruination, slave-labor conditions, militarist wars and starvation—this "civilization" is in danger, indeed.

"New bandit armies spring up in southern China. They exterminate the landlords, and the property of the rich they hand over to the poor. They confiscate the land and give it to the peasants. To fight against these bandit armies is exceedingly difficult, as the peasants aid them. And when Nanking armies advance in overwhelming force, the soldiers of these armies often turn into peaceful peasants and, hiding their arms, await the raising anew of the Red Flag. It cannot be said that the people consider these bandits their enemies. The landlords and the rich fear them, but the poor support them. These bandit armies have grown into a menacing force." So considers the "liberal" Japanese statesman, Vashio.

In the British House of Commons one of the liberal leaders,

the notorious chairman of the Royal Coal Commission, and former governor of Palestine, Herbert Samuels, has already raised the question of intervention:

"I have already said at the outset of my speech, that our difficulties arose to a considerable degree as a result of the disorganization of our distant markets. I have in view *India, China and Russia*. The Indian market is shut off as a result partly of increased tariff, partly of the boycott on our goods. These are the chief causes for the deplorable conditions of the textile industry in Lancashire. So far as China is concerned, I consider that our Foreign Office must undertake something in the interests of British and, if you please, in the interests of world commerce in the Far East and China. We must put an end to the disorders, wars, almost total anarchy that have reigned in that country now for several years. Can the entire world look on passively, while this large part of humanity is tossing in the throes of destruction? I do not propose intervention generally. *I propose intervention only upon invitation from the Chinese government, and I have grounds to state, that the Chinese government is considering this question.* Should the Chinese government invite the League of Nations and the United States to come to its aid, the governments represented in the League of Nations will eagerly meet this proposal more than half-way."

The Honorable Sir Samuels does not want intervention imposed and uninvited. But should the Chinese government, *i. e.*, Nanking or Peiping (Peking) or some other Chinese militarist clique desire it, then intervention must be undertaken at the behest of the "Chinese government." Obviously, the brazen advocacy of armed intervention, of crushing the revolution and of further enslaving the country, is camouflaged with hypocritical sighs over the sufferings of the Chinese people.

Credit is due the American imperialists for openly saying what other imperialists dare only think. At Williamstown, in the Institute of Politics, that shrine of enlightened bourgeois public opinion, Charles Batchelder, former commercial representative of the U. S. A. in China, and chief of the Far Eastern Division in the Department of Commerce, came out with the following cynically open declaration:

"Foreign intervention in China may become necessary in the nearest future. The conviction grows, that intervention is necessary out of humanitarian considerations. Two hundred thousand foreign soldiers, aided by picked native troops, could restore order in the entire country. I consider that the cost of such an undertaking would not exceed \$500,000,000. This sum could be raised in the form of a loan, secured by the revenues from customs and the salt monopoly."

Here, too, intervention is proposed out of humanitarian considerations, but the bookkeeper's figures are immediately adjoined. Two hundred thousand foreign troops, picked native troops, five hundred million American dollars, secured by seaport customs and salt revenues—all figured out to a nicety that would do any American business man honor. Another American journalist, Randolph Gilbert, already computed in advance how many human lives such intervention would cost: "The suppression of the Tai-ping uprising cost twenty million Chinese lives; suppressing the Boxer uprising cost one million Chinese lives. And to suppress the present revolution will cost the lives of fifteen million Chinese."

The figure obtained is preternaturally simple: Five hundred million American dollars, two hundred thousand foreign troops, fifteen million Chinese workers and peasants slaughtered; but then a most sizable potential foreign market would be regained to stabilize capitalism, with rich sources of raw material and excellent opportunities to invest capital at colonial super-profits. So simple and sensible is this figure, that international finance-capital is taking sundry steps to realize it. Germany sends a delegation of representative industrialists to study the Chinese market; the U. S. Senate names a special commission, headed by Senator Pitman, to study the possibilities for re-establishing and extending the Chinese market; the "*labor*" government of His Majesty, the King of Great Britain and Dominions Overseas dispatches a special commission to study the Chinese question; and a member of the "Labor" Party, president of the Board of Trade, Graham, gloomily declares that, as there are nine hundred million inhabitants in China, India and the U.S.S.R., if these markets could only be secured, there would be no crisis nor unemployment.

The road for these commissions is already being cleared. At Chang-sha, in the valley of the Yangtse and at Hankow, foreign warships are already bombarding detachments of the "Workers'-Peasants' " Red Army. American, British, Japanese, French and Italian cruisers and gunboats have already opened war upon the Chinese Soviets. Japanese infantry has already fought the Chinese Soviets' Red Army at Yo-chow and twice recaptured the industrial city of Da-e (Dairen?). French troops and aeroplanes have already fought against the Soviets in southern Kwang-si and have temporarily retaken Lung-chow. When the Red Army entered Chang-sha they met with American bayonets. And upon the fall of Chang-sha, international imperialism concentrated at Hankow land and naval forces equivalent to ten European divisions. In Shanghai, the heart of China, there are concentrated over fifty naval vessels, and thousands upon thousands of military and police.

The imperialists' crumbling hopes of stabilizing China did not at all remove the question of imperialism attempting to further subjugate China. Imperialism has not at all given up the struggle for a Chinese colony. Quite the contrary.

The imperialists are preparing to give the workers' and peasants' revolution in China short shrift. For the revolution did not die after its defeat in 1927; it is victoriously unfurling the Red Flag of the Soviets. And the workers' and peasants' revolution in China is smashing the most precise, dollar-and-penny figures of the imperialists.

THE CRISIS AND THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE

The Chinese revolution, after its defeat in 1927, was being buried by the bourgeois-feudal Kuomintang; it was being buried by the imperialists; it was being buried by Trotsky, who predicted protracted stabilization of Kuomintang rule; it was being buried by Chen Du-su, together with the right renegades of Communism. And after all these prophecies we see a new upsurge of the Chinese revolution, because imperialism and the counter-revolution could not on their own, by counter-revolution, solve the problems called forth by the revolution.

The revolution posed the problem of *overthrowing imperialism*. To this the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang counterposed its own program: Capitulation before imperialism, in consideration of the joint suppression of the revolution; attraction of foreign capital, and the accelerating of the industrial development of the country at the price of further enslaving the country to foreign capital. These plans collapsed. For this counter-revolutionary service the Kuomintang received only crumbs from imperialism. Foreign capital dared not rush into China.

The revolution set as its task the revolutionary *solution of the agrarian question*. The counter-revolutionary Kuomintang could not solve the agrarian problem. So closely is the national bourgeoisie knit together with the landowners, the usurers and the system of buying up taxes, that it is incapable of struggling against the pre-capitalist means of exploitation and for even some serious acceleration of the "Prussian-like" development towards more modern capitalist means of exploitation, as, for instance, the Kemalist bourgeoisie is attempting in Turkey. After a wave of present uprisings had already flooded southern China, the Kuomintang decided to issue a new agrarian law, in order the better to struggle against the revolution. The agrarian law adopted by the Legislative Council on June 14, 1930, provides: for a reduction in the

ground rent; that the share-crop tenant farmers are to pay only 37.5 per cent of the yield instead of the former 50 to 75 per cent; that the share-cropper has the right of perpetual tenancy, so long as he pays rent, and that the landlord has the right to dispossess a tenant only in case he is to cultivate the land himself, or if the arrears in rentals due exceed two years' rental.

The system of tenants depositing with the landlords certain sums in advance as security is abolished. The landlord is deprived of the right to auction tenants' livestock and implements for rental arrears. Where the landlord does not live on the soil, or the tenant has worked the land for over ten years, the latter is privileged to buy the lands from the landlord. The law provides for a new *cadastre* (registration and assessment of land) and, in connection with it, a more orderly system of land taxation. At that, the tax is inversely progressive; more fertile lands pay lower taxes than the less fertile. The law provides for taxing the appreciation of land; where land is bought or sold, the landowner must turn over to the state a certain percentage of the increased value of the land in the form of taxes.

To encourage colonization, the law provides for taxing fallow lands and for exempting from taxes for five years all new colonists. Rentals or taxes must not exceed 15 per cent of the crop on all newly cultivated lands. This is approximately all that the counter-revolution, caught in the grip of a crisis, promises the peasantry. At that, the law is to be applied not immediately and universally, but only in some parts of the country, and then only by special decree. The Kuomintang, although in the face of a peasant war, could not offer further concessions to the peasantry. The Kuomintang dared not even to attempt to realize a project similar to Stolypin's (the czar's premier after the 1905 revolution). *For the Kuomintang agrarian law is not even a caricature of the Stolypin project.* This Kuomintang reform, by-product of the agrarian revolution, is borrowed from the arsenal of British agrarian policy in its colonies, but could not satisfy even a kulak.

The revolution posed the problem of *unifying the country*. In 1928, when the slight rise in the world's economic conjuncture boosted even Chinese economy, Nanking consolidated—if only formally and tentatively—eight provinces under its rule. Subsequently, a row of war lords' wars broke out—and the feudal crumbling of the country grew worse than ever.

The new revolutionary upsurge developed against a background of world economic crisis, sharpened in the case of Chinese economy by special circumstances. Nowhere, in no other country, is the

economic crisis so all-sided, so all-embracing and so deep-going, as in China.

China had its *bourse* (stock exchange) *crash*. The depreciation of silver, causing the fall of all currency, became for China an economic rout. In the course of one year the basic standard and treasure-trove of the country, silver, depreciated 40 per cent—this alone almost doubling the national debt to the imperialists. *The industrial crisis* grips all branches of industry. Iron ore mining is cut even in Japanese mines, let alone Chinese. Smelting cast-iron is reduced even in Japanese blast furnaces; mining coal is cut even in British and Japanese mines. The textile industry is suffering a chronic crisis in all countries, and in China it is suffering besides from severed means of communication, from intensified British and Japanese competition and from raised tariff in India. The raw silk industry cut its production 60 to 70 per cent. The flour milling industry has been paralyzed as a result of three successive catastrophic famines.

The tobacco industry is ruined by competition on the part of the British-American Tobacco Company, and the match industry is razed to the ground by the cut-throat competition of the Swedish Match Trust. The crisis hit hardest the small and medium handicraft and manufacturing enterprises: They are closing down by the thousands and tens of thousands. *Foreign commerce* diminished catastrophically. Imports fell off 37 per cent and exports 10 per cent. Underproduction, chronic *agrarian crisis*, which led to famine on an unprecedented scale (1927, nine million; 1928, thirty-seven million; 1929, fifty-six million starving), is aggravated by world overproduction of the most important commercial and technical products cultivated in China. Prices are falling on soya beans, raw silk, tea, cotton, and oil seeds, and thereby depreciating Chinese exports. *Mass bankruptcy* has broken out, even among the larger and largest firms, in the course of which a number of foreign firms have already failed. Chinese firms going into the hands of foreign capital has become an every-day occurrence. The *bourse*, *valuta*, industrial and agrarian crises, all have simultaneously descended upon the Chinese semi-colony of imperialism.

The economic crisis develops into a political crisis. This crisis expresses itself in the collapse of the ruling classes. The camp of the counter-revolution is rent asunder.

Already for the past few months a militarist war is raging in northern China. An alliance of fifty-seven northern war lords, headed by Yen Hsi-shan and Feng Yu-hsiang, took the field against Nanking. Chiang Kai-shek mobilized five hundred and fifty thou-

sand troops, and the Northern Alliance, six hundred and fifty thousand troops, at the front. The Northern Alliance has more troops, Nanking has better troops and better military technique. The forces at the front balance. Mukden for several months has stayed neutral. Both Nanking and Peiping keep trying to win over to their sides the Mukden group which continues playing in this struggle the role of an indicator on a pair of scales. At the same time there is a war going on down south, of another militarist group. The remnants of the Kwangsi group joined forces with Chang Fa-guy, with the province Kwangsi as their military-territorial base, and are waging war against Nanking. And Nanking, on its part, scraped up an alliance of militarist groups in Kwantung, Hunan, and Kuy-chow against the alliance of Kwangsi and Chang Fa-guy.

Wherein lie the social and political roots of this militarist war? The Nanking program in no wise differs essentially from the Peiping program. When the Northern Alliance comes out against Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship, it fights, not against dictatorship in general, but against the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek, and for the dictatorship of Feng Yu-hsiang, Yen Hsi-shan and the other generals. When Peiping points to the corruption, sell-out, degeneration and decomposition of Nanking, then Nanking retaliates by stigmatizing the Peiping group as corrupt, sold-out, decomposed and degenerate. When Peiping wars against Nanking in the name of democracy, it is ridiculous enough to make Chinese fowl laugh, even as is Nanking's warring against Peiping in the name of Sun Yat-sen's Testament. Nanking has no other answer to the problems of the Chinese revolution than Peiping, and Peiping essentially has the same answer as Nanking.

Uneven economic development, feudal dismemberment, influence of different imperialist powers in different parts of the country—these are the main causes of the militarists' wars in China. Nanking, undoubtedly, bases itself on the provinces more developed economically—Tsien-t sien, Tsien-soo, Kwantung and Hupei—and thereby on the big bourgeoisie, including the *compradore* (labor-contractor) bourgeoisie and the big land barons of these provinces. At the same time Feng Yu-hsiang, undoubtedly, and Yen Hsi-shan base themselves on the bourgeoisie and landlords of Shansi, Shensi, Kwangsu, etc. They base themselves on the big bourgeoisie and landlords of these provinces, but the big bourgeoisie of these provinces is rather merchant-usurer than industrial, as compared with the Nanking provinces, whereas Wang Tsin-hwei and his grouping reflect the interests of the middle bourgeoisie and landlords. The basic and decisive difference, however, between the two warring

camp of the ruling classes is contained in the outer-political orientation of these groups.

The war between Nanking and Peiping in the North is a war between the United States and Japan!

Behind Nanking's back looms American imperialism, and behind Peiping, Japanese imperialism. The war between Nanking and the Northern Alliance, the war between Kwantung and Kwansi reflect the sharpened struggles among the imperialists. With bayonets of Chinese generals, through mercenary troops of the militarists, war is being waged by American, British and Japanese capital for a Chinese semi-colony. America supplies Nanking with armaments, munitions, war supplies and money. The preparations for Chiang Kai-shek's last offensive in Shantung cost American capital \$27,000,000, in return for which American capital cornered the concession for air communications in China. Obviously, it is not without the knowledge of and directions from the U. S. that German imperialism supplies Chiang Kai-shek not only with war supplies, but also with military experts. Under the leadership of notorious fascists, Generals Wetzel and Kribbel, over seven hundred officers of the German General Staff are serving in Chiang Kai-shek's armies.

At the same time Japanese imperialism is supplying the Peiping group with arms, munitions, areoplanes and military advisers. If the Japanese fascist Tanaka government at one time attempted to seize Shantung for Japanese capitalism by military intervention, the present "liberal" government of Hamaguchi-Shidehara seeks to seize Shantung through a more "delicate" method—through the Chinese war lords. In the North, England is flirting with both groups. British capital, personified by the "labor" government, is mainly striving to undermine and weaken the position of the U. S. in Nanking. In the South, behind the Kwantung grouping, and supporting Nanking stands British capital. The Kwantung grouping is the agency of the Hong-Kong dollar in southern China.

The war in China is not only between two groupings of the Chinese counter-revolution, but also between various imperialist groupings.

In this militarists' war the split in the ruling party of the Chinese bourgeois landlords' counter-revolutionary Kuomintang culminated and finally took form.

A new Kuomintang has been formed in Peiping, with a new Central Committee, with a new plenum of the C. C. and a new government. The new Kuomintang consists of two basic groups: the "reorganizationists," headed by Wang Tsin-hwei, Cheng Gum-

bo and other leaders of the "left" Kuomintang, and of the so-called Sishan group. The Sishan group is the extreme right wing of the Kuomintang, representing the interests of the compradore bourgeoisie. They were expelled from the Kuomintang when Sun Yat-sen was yet alive, as a compradore, counter-revolutionary group. If Wang Tsin-hwei and the reorganizationists in this bloc camouflage the bayonets of Feng Yu-hsiang and give them an ideological background, the Sishan group masks politically the bayonets of Yen Hsi-shan. At any rate, this unprincipled bloc with the compradores has completely unmasked Wang Tsin-hwei before the urban petty-bourgeoisie and before the student elements.

If the bloc with Feng Yu-hsiang, Yen Hsi-shan and the rest of the war lords has undermined politically the "left" Kuomintang's remnants of authority among the petty-bourgeoisie and the student elements, then their servility before the Mukden group, their bowing before the son worthy of his father, before Chan Hsue-liang, capped the process.

The decomposition (disintegration), the split among the ruling classes and their party, the Kuomintang, is complete. Their complete and final bankruptcy came about not merely for the reason that behind these various groups stood different imperialist powers. The support of the imperialists only lent the warring groups added force and resistance before the oncoming revolutionary storm.

The general economic crisis, the nation-wide political crisis, the civil war in the very camp of the ruling class, the barely disguised war among the imperialists for a Chinese semi-colony, the exodus from the bourgeois-landowners' Kuomintang of a considerable number of betrayed and disillusioned petty-bourgeois elements, and the complete political bankruptcy of the Kuomintang—this is the soil on which thrives the new upsurge of the revolution.

UPSURGE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The temporary victory of the counter-revolution in 1927 and the economic and political crisis meant, for the workers, losing whatever gains the revolution had made, falling real and often times even nominal wages, a merciless offensive on the part of capital in the form of a lengthened and intensified working day, the driving of working class organizations deeply underground, unprecedented unemployment, further sharpened by hundreds of thousands of ruined peasants and handicraftsmen flowing into the labor market, increased cost of living, Kuomintang provocation and betrayal in the trade unions, the physical decimation of the active elements in the revolutionary labor movement, complete political disfranchisement, the sway of the military and the police club in the

street and rule of the overseer's club in the shops, mills and mines. Still the Kuomintang could not fulfill one of the major tasks set for it by the imperialists and the bourgeoisie. It could not crush the labor movement.

During 1928 about four hundred thousand workers participated in strikes. During 1929 about seven hundred and fifty thousand workers participated. The strike wave spread in width and in depth all over the country. In far-off Sichuan the salt distillers in the most ancient salt works struck. In the most ancient commercial center in the world, in Tsin De Tchenk, the workers of the oldest chinaware factories struck. In Tang-chang—the miners, in Tsing-tao—the textile workers, on the Peking-Mukden Railroad line—the railway workers, and in Hong-Kong—the marine workers, the dockers and the building trades workers demonstrated the splendid fighting qualities of the Chinese proletariat. In Shanghai and in Hankow down to the very beginning of the summer of 1930 the strike wave kept growing consistently. It has grown weaker only during the last few weeks. In Shanghai, Hankow, Tsing-tao and in Canton the proletariat proved in mass demonstrations and in street fighting that it has recovered from the bloody knocks of the counter-revolution and that it continues to struggle as the leading class.

Painfully, slowly, through hard struggles, the Red trade unions are being reconstituted and are beginning to penetrate into ever bigger, and some of the largest enterprises in the most important branches of industry. The Red unions are not yet mass organizations, comprising only sixty thousand to seventy thousand workers. They have not yet by far, nor could they have, succeeded in consolidating organizationally the rapidly growing ideologico-political influence of the revolutionary wing upon the proletariat. But the work has already begun. In the yellow Kuomintang unions, by far not everywhere, not in all the larger centers, not in all the most important industries, not in all the larger enterprises, have organizations of the revolutionary wing been established. But even here the work is successfully begun, and initial victories are already recorded.

Not always or everywhere could the Red unions head the strikes flaring up spontaneously; not always could they organize and prepare economic struggles or guide them. In the main, only the vanguard has participated so far in meetings and political demonstrations. But, on the other hand, nearly every economic strike carries within itself the elements of imminent civil war, becomes a struggle against the Kuomintang, against the military and police forces of the counter-revolution and imperialists. The degree of organization, the

level of consciousness of the workers' struggles varies in different parts of the country, the class struggle of the proletariat develops exceedingly unevenly.

But the workers' movement in China is mounting up-grade. The fact that the class struggle of the proletariat, precisely in the larger proletarian centers, is developing unevenly, overcoming tremendous difficulties, under most difficult conditions, and at a relatively slow tempo, is explained by the fact that the larger industrial centers are often in foreign concessions, under direct military-political control of the imperialists, or under the immediate threat of imperialist intervention. Besides, the Kuomintang also concentrates its main forces in the large proletarian centers.

The imperialists and the Kuomintang have transformed Shanghai, Uhan, Nanking, Tien-tsin, Tang-shan, and Dairen into armed camps. *The class struggle of the proletariat is proceeding under the very mouths of imperialist cannon.*

THE PEASANT WAR UNDER THE BANNET OF THE SOVIETS

Most remarkable, most characteristic of the present phase of the Chinese revolution is the upsurge of the peasant movement, the ever-spreading peasant war.

The Kuomintang counter-revolution, even with the aid of the imperialists, could not stifle the peasant movement after the defeat of the revolution in 1927. The village was seething all the while. Hunger riots; the appearance and growth of spontaneous peasant organizations, like the Union of Red Lances, Big Knives, etc.; the peasant struggles against the plunder and the requisitions of the war lords; the slaughter of the mortgagees, and the riots against them, were going on all the while. In 1928 a terrific peasant uprising broke out in the province of Kiangsu. As the main force in this uprising, appeared the Moslem peasantry of Kiangsu, particularly the Tunguans.

But the nationalist character in spite of its religious outer shell could not hide the real class character of this huge movement. The Moslem peasant Tunguan rebelled against the Chinese war lord, against the Chinese landlord, against the usurer, and tax collector; the Chinese peasants of Kiangsu joined in with this movement, while the Moslem generals and landlords helped Feng Yu-hsiang crush it. The line of division was a class line and the nationalist-religious phase played but a secondary role. The Moslem uprising again broke out in the summer of 1929.

In the vicinity of large industrial centers also, particularly around Shanghai and Hankow, peasant uprisings have been breaking out

frequently. Discharged revolutionary workers, returning to the villages, have been the initiators and leaders of these movements.

In the South, at the junction of three provinces—Kwantung, Futsian and Tsiansi—small detachments of the incipient Red Army, under the leadership of the Communists, Mao Tse-du and Chu-de, held aloft the banner of the Soviets. In various countries in small territories, sprang up separate Soviet islets, which survived in a sea of Kuomintang counter-revolution. The Soviet movement moved to the south and developed there. In South Hunan, Holoong's detachments fought under the banner of the Soviets against the landlords. Thence the movement jumped to south Hupei and later to western Hupei. *In the summer of 1929 all the detachments of the Red Army, taken together, counted ten thousand bayonets and the Soviet islets spread over several counties.* But the Soviet movement stirred the villages, roused them and called forth into life the partisan (guerilla) movement of the immense peasant masses. In March, 1930, the Red Army already counted over sixty thousand troops, the power of the Soviets extended to 127 out of 760 counties in southern China; guerilla warfare raged in 170 counties, and hundreds and hundreds of thousands participated in the guerilla bands.

At the present writing the Soviet power is already established in two hundred counties in southern and central China. The Soviet movement spread to the province of Tsien-tsen, into the backward, remote Sichuan, into northern Hupei; it is beginning to embrace southern Hunan and Anhwei. On the northern shores of the Yang Tse-tsen, also, the Red banner of the Soviets is already waving. The Red Army of the Chinese Soviets now consists of twenty-two army corps, and counts in its ranks nearly three hundred thousand troops. In the guerilla movement participate somewhere between three million and four million peasants.

In southern and central China, there has already grown up a revolutionary power that menaces the bourgeois-landlord civilization and the imperialist colonial regime. Only on the waves of the greatest mass peasant movement could such a power grow up. The peasant revolted against the landlord, against the mortgagee, against the gentry, the *tuhao*, the tax collector, and the wave of peasant revolt wipes out the bourgeois-landlord's power. The peasant masses indeed turn the war lords' wars into wars against the war lords, against the landlord, against the Kuomintang.

The "left" renegade Trotsky, as far back as 1928, prophesied the stabilization of Chiang Kai-shek's power for many years to come. The right renegade, Chen Du-su, prophesied a prolonged period of consolidation for the Kuomintang, which became, in the

opinion of Chen Du-su, the bourgeois power. The Chinese peasant smashed these conceptions. Simultaneously, the Chinese peasant settled the argument over the main slogan of the present stage of the revolution. The "left" and right renegades, with froth at their mouths, defended the slogan of a constituent assembly. The Comintern and the CPC put forth the slogan of Soviets.

Ten millions of Chinese peasants decided this question by voting for Soviet power. They voted with rifles, lances, halberds, pitchforks, clubs, and whatever else came to hand, for Soviets. And when masses vote with arms, it is the most effective, the most undeniable vote. The Chinese peasant is at present procreating into life the ingenious statement of Lenin, that the Soviets can and must become the organs of revolt and of power, even in the backward agrarian countries. The Chinese peasant is at present voting for Lenin's thesis of the Second Congress of the Comintern.

(The second instalment of this will appear in the February issue.)

TRANSLATOR'S FOOTNOTE: A significant event has taken place since the writing of this article. The war lords, with the "good offices" of Mukden, and at the order of world imperialism, have buried the hatchet. Bolshevism in China has assumed such proportions that the antagonisms between the imperialists and their Chinese compradore-groupings, tend to recede into second place. All forces must now be joined for a concerted attack upon the Chinese Revolution. Already the news comes that Chiang Kai-shek is heading an army of 300,000 against the Reds. A wave of white terror may soon be expected, and it becomes the task of the world proletariat to counteract it.

Yet so basic are the antagonisms of world imperialism, on the one hand, and such deep roots has the revolution struck in the Chinese masses, on the other hand, that the imperialist "truce" serves only to add further point to the analysis presented in this article.

Lenin's Letter to the Socialist Propaganda League in America

. . . the opportunists who must be excluded from the Party, particularly now that they have conducted themselves like traitors during the war. If a small group (at present our Central Committee is a small group) could act in every given crisis, directing the masses *towards a revolution*, that would be very good. In any crisis the masses cannot act directly; the masses need aid from small groups—the central institutions of our Party. From the very beginning of the war, since September, 1914, our Central Committee tried to impress upon the masses that they should not accept the lie concerning a “war of defense,” that they should break with the compromisers and the so-called jingo Socialists (this is what we call the “Socialists” who stand *at present* for a war of defense). We think that those centralizing steps of our Central Committee were useful and necessary.

We agree with you that we must stand against craft unions and for industrial unions, *i. e.*, for large centralized trade unions and for the most active participation of *all* Party members in the economic struggle and in *all* the trade unions and co-operative organizations of the working class. Such men, however, as Mr. Legien in Germany, and Mr. Gompers in the U. S. A., we consider to be bourgeois, and their politics not Socialist, but nationalist middle-class politics. Mr. Legien, Mr. Gompers and the like represent not the working class, but the aristocracy and the bureaucracy of the working class.

We are in full sympathy with your demand for mass actions of the workers. The German revolutionists and Socialists-internationalists demand the same. In our press we take pains to define in detail what must be understood by “political mass actions,” for

¹ This letter is reprinted from Lenin, *Imperialist War*; International Publishers, New York.

In the middle of November, 1915, Lenin received a leaflet of the Socialist Propaganda League in the United States, whose contents showed the internationalist trend of the League. Lenin sent a long letter in reply and attached the *Internationale Flugblaetter* of the Zimmerwald Left and his pamphlet *Socialism and War*. The text given here is only part of the letter written by Lenin; the first part of the letter has not been preserved. (If any of our readers know of the missing part we would be glad to have them communicate with us).

instance, the political strike (which is very useful in Russia), the street demonstration, and civil war, which is being prepared by the present imperialist world war.

We do not preach an alliance with the *present* Socialist parties which are dominant in the Second International. On the contrary, we insist on *breaking* with the conciliators. The war is the best object lesson. The conciliators, their leaders, their most influential papers and magazines in every country, are in *favor* of the war; in other words, they have actually *formed an alliance* with "their" national bourgeoisie (middle-class, capitalists) against the proletarian masses. You say that there are Socialists in America who express themselves in favor of a war of defense. We are convinced that an alliance with such people is criminal. *This* would be an alliance with the national middle class and capitalists, and a *break* with the international revolutionary working class. *We*, on our part, stand for a break with the nationalist conciliators, for an alliance with the international Marxists-revolutionists, and with the parties of the working class.

We have never objected in our press to uniting with the Socialist²

² The American Socialist Party, far from being a revolutionary Marxist Party, was permeated by reformism even before the World War and the Russian Revolution. It was founded in 1901 as a result of the union of two groups which had separated, respectively, from the Socialist Labor Party (Hillquit) and the Social-Democratic Party, founded in 1898 by Victor Berger and Eugene V. Debs. As the Party rapidly grew in numbers, reaching a membership of over 100,000, there grew within it a strong opportunist wing, which in 1912 succeeded, at the Indianapolis Convention, in inserting a clause in the Party platform (Section 2, Article VI) which rejected all use of force, sabotage, etc. Under this section William D. Haywood was removed from the National Executive Committee and expelled from the party. Its opposition to the war, the ratification of the Zimmerwald Manifesto, and its various anti-war proclamations during this period were essentially pacifist rather than revolutionary in nature. The Party, however, had large numbers of revolutionary proletarian elements, and, influenced by the March Revolution and the crystallization of the revolutionary internationalist group in Europe, it adopted a militant anti-war manifesto at its convention in St. Louis, April, 1917, immediately after America's entrance into the war. The call to revolutionary action embodied in this manifesto, however, was soon emasculated by the party leadership, and the October Revolution stimulated the formation of Left groups within the Party. The final crystallization of an organized Left Wing led to a split and the formation of the Communist Party in 1919. Since then, with the loss of its proletarian base and mass contact, the Socialist Party has developed into a petty-bourgeois reformist party,

Party and the Socialist Labor Party³ in America. We have always referred to the letters of Marx and Engels (especially those addressed to Sorge, an active participant of the American Socialist movement) in which *both* condemn the sectarian character of the S. L. P.⁴

We are fully in agreement with your criticism leveled at the old International. We have participated in the Zimmerwald Conference (in Switzerland, September 5-8, 1915). We have formed a *Left Wing* there, and have submitted *our resolution* and a draft manifesto. We have just published those documents in Germany, and I am forwarding them to you (together with a German translation of our pamphlet, *Socialism and War*) in the hope that there is a comrade in your League who knows German. If it were possible for you to help us publish these documents in English (this is possible only in America; we could subsequently send them into England), we would gladly accept your aid.

In our struggle for true internationalism against the "jingo Socialists" we have always pointed in our press at the conciliationist leaders of the S. P. of America who are in favor of restricting immigration of Chinese and Japanese workers (especially after the Stuttgart Congress of 1907 and *in spite* of its decisions).⁵ We think that it is impossible to be an internationalist while favoring such restrictions. We assert that as long as the American and, particularly, English Socialists, who belong to a *ruling* and *oppressing* nation, are in favor of any kind of restriction of immigration and possessing colonies (the Hawaiian Islands), as long as they do not stand for

eliminating the principle of class struggle from its platform and actually becoming the third party of American capitalism.

³The Socialist Labor Party was formed in the seventies as a result of the fusion of various Socialist groups which were in existence in the United States at that time. From its formation, the party kept aloof from the mass labor movement and had the character of a sect. In April, 1916, a joint conference of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party was held to discuss the possibility of unity of the two parties, but the conference was unable to reach an agreement, and the question of unity was dropped.

⁴Of particular importance are Engels' letters to Sorge, April 29, 1886, and November 29, 1886; to Mrs. Vishnevetsky, December 28, 1886, and February 9, 1887; to Sorge, December 7, 1889; to Schlueter, January 11, 1890.

⁵At the Congress of the American Socialist Party in 1910 the majority of the Committee on Immigration brought in a reactionary resolution opposing free immigration to the United States, particularly favoring the complete stoppage of Asiatic immigration. The Committee claimed that the Stuttgart resolution for free immigration needed modification on this point. Desirous to avoid the issue the Congress decided to continue to study the question until the next Congress. At the 1912 Convention of the Party, a compromise resolution was adopted, opposing the entrance of immigrants who have contracted

the full independence of the latter, they are in reality "jingoese."

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate my best wishes and greetings to your League. We would be very glad, also, in the future to receive information from you, and to combine our struggle with yours against the conciliators and for true internationalism.

Yours,

N. LENIN.

There are two Social-Democratic parties in Russia. Our party (the Central Committee) is against the conciliators. The second party (the Organization Committee) is opportunist. We are against an alliance with it.

You may write to our official address (Central Committee, care of Russian Library, 7 Rue Hugo de Senger, Geneva, Switzerland); Seidenweg, 4a, III, Berne, Switzerland.

for their labor prior to their departure for America. The members from the Western states, particularly the Pacific coast, were especially active in the campaign to have the Socialist Party oppose free immigration from China, Japan, and India.



BOOKS

BOOKS

A PHILISTINE'S THEORY OF WORLD UNITY

The Unity of the World, by GUGLIELMO FERRERO. New York: A & C. Boni. 1930. 220 pp.

Reviewed by DAVID GORDON

According to the foreword to *The Unity of the World* the well-known American historian, Charles A. Beard, believes that in years to come this book by Guglielmo Ferrero will be a classic to be read with Plato and Aristotle. The comparison is significant. Plato and Aristotle were offshoots of the decaying Grecian slave state and two of its firmest champions: Plato with his carefully planned class society where the slaves would remain slaves and the rulers continue their rule, and Aristotle with his abstract metaphysical combats against the grandfather of dialectics, Heraclitus. Today, among others, we find another thinker, a child of capitalism in its final stages of decomposition, in an attempt to conciliate the contradictions of international imperialism. This repetition, according to Beard, of a "great historic personage" reminds us of Marx's addition to the saying of Hegel that great deeds and men occur twice: "Once as tragedy, and again as farce." Guglielmo Ferrero, and his political, philistine philosophy with him, historically falls in the second category.*

The entire view of history taken by Ferrero is subjective. He obscures and belittles the historical materialist attitude of placing men and nations in relation to production. "The muffled ferment of Asia" and "the instability of Europe" (p. 14) are a matter of "reciprocal hatreds, reciprocal fears" to him instead of the result of imperialist aggression in India and China, and its effect upon their workers and peasants, and of the imperialist rivalries for foreign markets and sources of raw material. To Ferrero this does not mean an organized struggle of the workers and peasants against imperialism but something "tragic, terrible, monstrous." In spite of this, "we should not, however, too violently decry" this antagonism among nations.

The author's desires run away with him and so he substitutes fancy for fact. "Nowadays," he writes, "the world lives a single, co-ordinated life despite the diversity of races and climates, religions and customs." (p. 26.) This is a philistine position, not the utterance of a naive person. Our historian, as we shall see, is first of all a member of the middle class; secondly, he is satisfied with himself; thirdly, it follows logically, his intellectual

* This may serve as a commentary on Ferrero's "liberal" commentator, Charles A. Beard.

activities are characterized by his middle class position and his smugness. He therefore would like to see the various bourgeois countries run smoothly, "avoiding" the rough concussions of proletarian revolutions. It is for this reason that he speaks of an existing co-ordinated world instead of the *inter-relationships* between the imperialist lands and the contradictions arising from their mutual desires for foreign markets.

Ferrero considers the various "objections" to world unity and answers them one by one, chapter by chapter. He tries to show how China, representing Asia as a whole, has become a part of the world and an aid to world unity through its "acceptance" of many European customs, etc. He then says that although the United States is the strongest country in the world, it nevertheless will not be the ruler of the world, for the new united world would have no one ruler, but a world balance of nations would exist to maintain the equilibrium. As for the variety of languages in the world, that would be and is no hindrance to unity. Universal suffrage, too, is no objection to world unity in spite of all aristocratic chatter, he asserts. He considers the struggles for the seas and legal prohibitions (as the tariff) negations of world unity, but negations that should and would be overcome. World Americanization and international plutocracy are ridiculed alike by Ferrero. Although he states that Europe cannot be Americanized, he does not say why, unless the general statement that it cannot become so "because certain elements of its (Europe—D. G.) former civilization are bound up with its very existence" can be thought a sufficient "analysis." As for plutocracy, that is an imaginary, illusory figment of a strained mentality. There is no such thing. He defies a definition of the word. Bankers did not start the war. How could they? Ferrero met many financiers and industrialists and found them such very charming people. It was the bad group of militarists who began everything in 1914. The League of Nations is to him a great step in world unity, but it must not hinder the natural development of nations! What this means is left unsaid.

Before examining the conclusion Ferrero draws for the final achievement, let us notice some of his casual observations. Throughout the entire book we hear an undertone of counter-revolutionary assertions that swells as we read on. Now, as never before, we are informed, does the effect of events in one country find its influence in other countries. For that reason "it could be said that nothing concerns every people more than do the political crises and *coups d'état* and revolutions which are capable of shaking the foundations of the social order in one part or another of the earth." (p. 27.) These words are liable to lead to a most menacing action. The germs of counter-revolutionary offensives against the Soviet Union and against the Chinese Revolution are most genially fed by this theory.

"As to the revolutionary hegemony of Russia, it would seem to belong with the dreams which delight Western intellectualism, intoxicated by historic precedents." (p. 51.) Thus spake Guglielmo Ferrero. Since this philistine has only contempt for the workers and poor farmers of the world, he thinks that the best way of stopping their revolutionization is by overlooking it. "Detesting" revolutions like a gentle middle class historian would, he tries to fit history into his emotions, and consequently, in all senile brazenness, flaunts a tearful appeal in the face of fact: "Powerful as Europe is, it cannot, within the span of little more than a century, produce two revolutions of a universal character." (pp. 51-52.) It cannot; it must not; it should not; it will

not. "Poor" Ferrero weeps for the plight of his bourgeois world, yet despite his wailing he is aware of the gain that the world proletarian revolution, begun in Russia, has made. In a frenzy of fear he hopes that the counterparts of the Russian Revolution in Germany, Hungary and Italy are not repeated.

Ferrero, like his bourgeois masters, looks to the United States as the land in which capitalism has reached its ideal synthesis. This, of course, only shows Ferrero's strong tie with the present system of society. Speaking of the man- and maid-servants hired by the middle class, Ferrero asserts that the European, with a smaller income, more often engages domestic help, trying to prove that the American does not know how to enjoy his wealth as well as his European fellow-exploiter.

"Can one use the term 'governing' of a class of which the most considerable and most cultivated part finds nobody to discharge the most humble functions of material existence for it?" (p. 115.)

This is a gem of supercilious, middle class degeneracy. This open rottenness typifies the attitude Ferrero takes to history. We must sympathize with the worried bourgeoisie which cannot solve its domestic problems! Such flagrant audacity at a time when capitalism is impoverishing the working class more and more!

Yet what is even more important is the esteem of America held in reference to its backward, slowly developing, working class.

"The Americans have no reason to worry about revolutions. They know that revolutions break out from time to time in various parts of the globe, just as those who live far from volcanoes and sea coasts, know that from time to time eruptions and earthquakes do occur. Free from proscription, well paid, accustomed to a well-rounded life, the popular classes in America are far more obedient and amenable than in Europe. They have been scarcely touched by the curious messianic illusion of a regenerating revolution that is penetrating deeper and deeper into the minds of the European masses." (pp. 122-23.)

We sense a sort of fundamentalist prayer in this. How unkind history has been to Europe, to make its proletariat revolutionary! How he wishes Europe could be like the United States. And how glibly he overlooks the increasing class struggles of the American proletariat. Or, rather, we should say, how he admires the ruthless methods employed by the American ruling class in attempts to crush strikes, for Ferrero must certainly know that many strikes have occurred. Further, he must admire the American Federation of Labor, that important asset to American capitalism which betrays its proletarian membership in the latter's struggles for better working and living conditions. How he yearns for the introduction of a democracy similar to that of the United States into Europe; for that democracy was carefully fostered by the bourgeoisie in order to make the workers feel they controlled the reins of government and so managed as to make universal suffrage a meaningless term through the capitalist corruption of politics.

Ferrero is the true philistine historian. He spends an entire chapter to prove that "international plutocracy" is a fiction. He perspires profusely

in his laborious attempt to show that bankers and industrialists are not diabolic creatures, but merely human beings like the rest of us. Like Guglielmo Ferrero himself, I suppose. Bankers and industrialists have very little to do with politics. So little do they have to do with it, Ferrero wants us to believe, that when they do engage in political affairs they are as babes. He would rather have the capitalists be considered stupid than considered political partisans. Therefore, he states:

“... Generally speaking, industrialists and bankers interest themselves in politics only so much as their business demands and subordinate their opinions to certain interests, which are entirely legitimate. What business men want most of all from governments, is order; the simple and solid and concrete, and sometimes rather uncivilized, stability needed by industry and commerce; as to the means of obtaining it, which is the great problem for the politician, they are relatively indifferent.” * (p.140.)

This is an astounding admission. In the first place, not only does “business” rule, but a very limited amount of business men are to be found in the category of rulers. According to ex-Ambassador Gerard, fifty-nine rule “the fabulous wealth of America.” Then, if business engages in politics *only* in proportion to their business demands, it follows that the whole of politics is subjected to capitalist interests. The bankers and industrialists desire order. In other words they would like to do away with the struggles of the working class against their exploitative rule and get rid of the economic rivalry of other powers. And it is very true that the business men are indifferent to the methods employed in maintaining order. This finds corroboration in the recent series of murders committed by the bosses’ police against members of the Communist Party, Negro and white alike, in the United States. The hectic rushing to arms and the continued anti-Soviet propaganda point to the capitalist desire for order (for continuing their order, we must understand) to be accomplished by means of another world war.

We need not exhaust the great amount of pro-capitalist propaganda in the book. The citations already made are sufficient to show that Ferrero is up in arms for the *status quo*. We might investigate the soundness of his historical analogies, of his comparisons of ancient Rome and the nineteenth century with today, but it is not necessary.

It is because of his subjective approach and frankly capitalist sympathies, that he can deduce from his historical analyses that,

“Despite the ruination caused by the war and the moral disorder which it left everywhere, we still belong to the ablest, the richest, the most humanitarian age in history.” (p. 184.)

The ten million murdered and twenty million wounded in the world war mean nothing to him. We are nevertheless living in the most humanitarian

* The reader might compare this view of Ferrero, the open capitalist historian, with that of the so-called liberal, Barnes, in his *World Politics in Modern Civilization*. Their interpretations are strikingly identical. See my review: COMMUNIST, September, 1930.

age in history. That is the logic of a disgusting philistine who hopes that nothing should change the present order so that he might enjoy a manservant, a maid-servant, and a cook to take care of the humble tasks in order that that intellectual scoundrel should perpetrate more orations in defense of capitalist society.

And this great humanitarian, after pages of tedious and false historicizing, finally comes to his special cure for world looseness. And one does begin to grow anxious to discover how he proposes to establish world unity, after his excursions into Confucianism, Roman history, the Greeks, Etruscans and Italians, the French Revolution and the Revolution of 1848, Cavour, Bismarck and who not. What will save mankind? Ferrero proudly swells his chest (and his book with a number of extra rotten pages) and loudly proclaims that universal suffrage "is the safeguard of civilization." We could agree with him if he said it was *one* of the safeguards. For universal suffrage is indeed one of the safeguards of capitalist civilization. It has been used time and again to fool the workers into believing that they control the nation. But certainly universal suffrage cannot be a slogan for the working class of the world.

As far back as 1875, Marx, in his *Critique of the Gotha Program* ridiculed Lassalle for the inclusion of the suffrage plank in his proposed platform. Today, in the last stage of capitalism, in the epoch of proletarian revolutions, our slogans must be for a Workers' and Farmers' Government. The proletariat rejects this subterfuge and faces the issue. It struggles against the Guglielmo Ferreros, practically and theoretically, as an integral part of capitalism. It scorns his shallowness and his philistine political theories. It struggles daily against Ferrero's brothers, the exploiters, the "plutocrats," the bankers and industrialists. It also struggles against the hireling leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the "socialist" party in the United States as bearers and supporters of the same fascist flag held aloft by Ferrero and his fellow capitalists. It fights, instead of for universal suffrage, for what the workers in Russia have gained.

ANNOUNCING Two New Features

Our readers have made some excellent suggestions. We are going to incorporate some of them in two new sections of *THE COMMUNIST*. These are:

Readers' Comments

We will print short statements commenting upon points or questions raised by articles which have been published in *THE COMMUNIST*. These must be short, of not more than two hundred words in length, and clarify or elaborate questions previously discussed.

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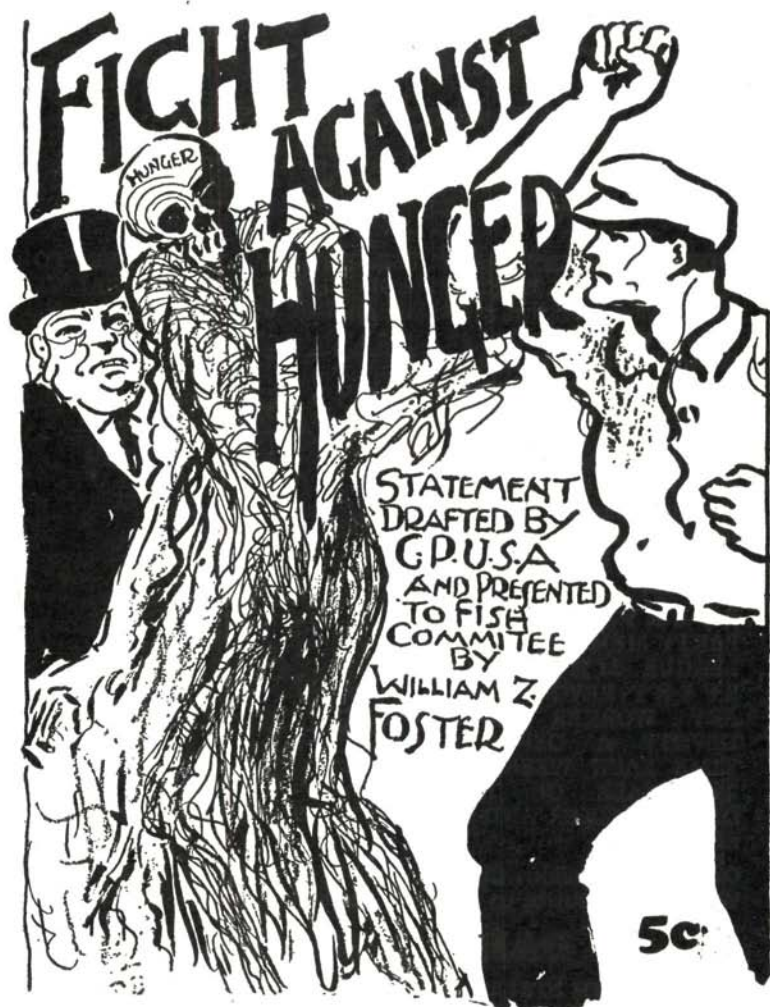
Short answers to questions of general interest, which have been asked us, will be printed.

We ask our readers to participate in these two new features.

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